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THE  
WAYFARER'S  
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THE  
WAYFARER'S  
COMPANION

ENGLAND'S HISTORY IN HER  
BUILDINGS AND COUNTRYSIDE

BY  
ARNOLD FELLOWS

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1937





■

TO MY  
FATHER AND MOTHER

■

‘Everyone who has wandered much about England cannot fail to have been moved by the sense of unity in English history, for our history has been caught and retained by the countryside, so that an English countryside is a harmonious blending of nature and the works of men. And if he uses his imagination in reflecting upon what he feels and observes, the wanderer cannot but be impressed by the unceasing receptivity of England, on the one hand, and by her insular tenacity on the other. The English have absorbed all varieties of foreign influence, yet hitherto they have never been disturbed by them. English history, like English country, is full of foreign things; they abound, yet they have ceased to be foreign and are part of England; so that even the barrows or burial-places of early man or Germanic kings, even Stonehenge from prehistoric times and the walls of Pevensey from Roman times, add a quality always new and are subdued to a harmony of tone and to a beauty which have grown old with them.’

F. M. POWICKE

## PREFACE

THIS little book is addressed to all holiday-makers whose interests lead them farther than the golf-links, the bandstand, and the beach. It is also a humble thank-offering for my own happy wanderings during the last eighteen years. The chapters deal in a general way with what you can *actually see*, as you go about England and Wales, of the past life of the country; and the appendix is a gazetteer of where to look. Each chapter is self-contained, so you may begin where you will, and the last will serve either as hors d'œuvres or as savoury, but there is a general progression from the remote past to our own day.

With two exceptions the photographs are of my own taking; that is to say, they are the work of an amateur with a small camera and no special appliances, and are such as any one may take for himself. They come from more than thirty counties. For notes on them consult the List of Illustrations.

The short bibliographies may help those (I hope there are some) who feel drawn to read more; and as there was no room in a small book for detailed references, they will show the main sources on which I have relied for facts.

I am conscious of the shortcomings of the book. No man can be an expert in a dozen subjects, least of all in his spare time, and one steers perilously between the Scylla of superficiality and the Charybdis of dullness; but with rare exceptions I have described nothing that I have not myself seen. If the mistakes are confined to details, and if my delight in our living past has crept into what I have written, I shall be content.

To all who have helped me in writing this book I offer my

grateful thanks. My colleagues and others of my friends have read much of it in manuscript, and (whether they knew anything about it or not) have made valuable suggestions. Both in churches and in private houses I have always been given ready permission to photograph, and every facility was afforded me at the Victoria and Albert Museum. For help with the Index I am indebted to some young friends who will recognize their identity under the initials L. M. To the Clarendon Press I owe much; they have not only been generous in the matter of illustrations, but have given me access to expert criticism and encouraged me throughout the three years that I have been writing. Last, I wish to acknowledge my debt to those collaborators without whose aid no one writes at all: my former masters and tutors, and all those whose books have made me more observant or more thoughtful.

I also have to thank Messrs Thornton Butterworth Ltd. for permission to quote the passage on p. vi from *Medieval England 1066-1485* by F. M. Powicke in the Home University Library Series.

A. F.

HARSNETTS, CHIGWELL, ESSEX.

4 March 1937

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I

THE PLEASANT LAND

A great while ago this world begun  
With hey, ho, the wind and the rain.

SHAKESPEARE

SUPPOSE that you are off for a holiday, and that on a Wednesday in July you set out for Bassenthwaite, armed with some sandwiches of pressed beef and a flask of whisky; in so doing, though you know it not, you have in half a dozen ways entangled yourself with the varied threads that form the web of English History. The day that you chose commemorates the greatest of the Saxon gods; the month was called after the founder of the Roman Empire; your journey's end will be a lake named by Vikings; your solid food was christened by the Normans; and your drink (unless you add soda, which is Italian and comparatively modern) will be the water of the ancient Gaels.

The past is alive for us, if we are awake and know where to look; and the purpose of this book is to open a few windows into the enchanted land of yesterday, which surrounds and influences the 'futurist' no less than the toughest conservative.

England's story depends above all on her position. Although from the earliest times Britain has been in touch with Europe, and from the New Stone Age onwards has been visited by traders from the south, it is broadly true that as long as the Mediterranean deserved its name and was the centre of the known world, our island was remote and backward. The Roman Empire conquered and built and withdrew; the Christian Church converted and took root; energetic and



businesslike Normans brought government and more trade; yet throughout the Middle Ages we remained on the fringe of the civilized world, looking to Rome and to the French for our ideas, fighting in France when we had no battles to fight at home.

The voyages of Columbus and the other great explorers changed all this, both for us and for the Portuguese, Spanish and Dutch, who were equally well placed on the Atlantic's eastern shore. France had the same opportunity and for a time seized it, but the French have always had at least one eye on the Rhine, and that is the real reason why they never established an empire in America or India. By an irony of circumstance the Scandinavians, who had reached the new world in the Viking age five centuries before Columbus, alone among the peoples of the western seaboard did not take part in developing the new lands, a process which was in time to bring to England and her neighbours an increasing share of the world's trade, and permit oceanic ports like Liverpool to supplant Venice and Genoa, the entrepôts of the Mediterranean.

Of course, the change that set us amidst the world's highways was long in coming. The Dutch did not free themselves from Spain for a century after 1492, and the first English colony to thrive was not founded till 1607; but our faces were at length, and decisively, turned towards the open sea. In 1558 we fortunately lost Calais. In the same year Elizabeth came to the throne, and English exploration seriously began. Under the Stuarts, traders and religious refugees founded colonies that thrived. In the eighteenth century we established an empire by the sword. Even when some of the older colonies broke away to form the United States, the rapid growth of that nation did still more to make us a meeting-

place for the commerce, and later for the ideas, of the old world and the new. After centuries spent in learning we have been able, from Elizabeth's day to our own, to contribute in literature and industry and government to the common stock of civilization.

So much for our position; but the holiday-maker who stays in England is more concerned with the lie of the land. Once upon a time this country was not an island. Even now an intelligent giant, sufficiently large, would recognize the brotherhood of the white cliffs of Dover and those of the French shore, or of the rocky coasts of Cornwall and Brittany; and the surrender of Calais in 1558 may be regarded as England's tardy acknowledgement of the work of nature thousands of years ago. Ireland was separated from us when we were still part of the mainland of Europe, and the relations between the two countries have always reflected the presence of that fatal gulf.<sup>1</sup> When the final submergence took place and Britain herself was launched, nature surrounded her with shallow seas, where fish could breed and fishermen net their shining harvest. Where there are practised sailors, there can be a navy; therefore to encourage fishermen Elizabeth insisted, not for religious but for maritime reasons, that fish should still be eaten instead of meat on Fridays and in Lent. We owe our navy as much to the existence of the Dogger Bank as to our indented coastline and sheltered harbours.

It was long years before we had a navy able to guard our shores, and those shores were such as to invite invaders from the south and east. Considered broadly, England slopes gradually upwards to the Pennines, the mountains of Wales, Exmoor and Dartmoor. On the east many rivers lead into

<sup>1</sup> This is also the reason why there are no snakes in Ireland.

the heart of the country. Invaders therefore have easy access, while the inhabitants, except locally, have no line of defence until they reach the Severn and the Hills, in and beyond which dwell descendants of all the races who came to Britain before the English. Even in the defensive armour of the western hills, nature has left gaps, and it was the seizure of these that enabled the English to complete their conquest. A victory in 577 at Deorham near Bath gave them control of the estuary of the Severn and cut off the Cornish from the Welsh; another victory at Chester, about 616, securing the Dee and the Mersey, separated the Welsh from the Britons of the north-west. There has since then been more than one national rising in Wales, but at no time a united movement of independence in the whole of the west.

We may now fairly set out on our holiday, for the natural forces that supplied means of attacking and defending our country also moulded its scenery. The youngest rocks, like the latest invaders, are to be found in the south and east, and a glance at the geological map will show that a traveller by air from London to Snowdonia would, with local exceptions, fly above rocks of ever-increasing antiquity.

The most ancient are the *Metamorphic or Altered rocks*—squeezed out of their original shape and even internal structure by the enormous pressure of vast movements of the Earth that have upheaved and wrinkled mountain chains as if they were clay—and the earliest *Volcanic rocks*. Not all Metamorphic and Volcanic rocks are equally old, for we have eruptions and earthquakes even to-day, but in Britain all the oldest rocks are either Metamorphic or Volcanic.

All other rocks are *Sedimentary*; that is to say, they were laid down peacefully in layers, at the bottom of rivers, lakes,

and especially the sea, during periods of thousands of years. In these, fossils are to be found. As might be expected, the rocks formed in a violent manner present the most striking scenery, and for grandeur one visits the Scottish Highlands, the English Lake District, or North Wales; but every period of rock-formation has bequeathed its peculiar beauty, and to the change from one to another our country-side owes its variety and charm.

It is worth while to consider in brief detail the various *Sedimentary rocks*. The oldest are called *Cambrian*, *Ordovician* and *Silurian*, all names connected with Wales, and these rocks cover most of that country. During the Ordovician period there was an outburst of volcanic activity, and to this we owe the mountain masses of North Wales—Cader Idris, the Arans, Arenigs, and Snowdon itself, which may in its youth have stood 15,000 feet high. To the same period belong Scawfell, Helvellyn and Skiddaw, and the whole of the Lake District between Ambleside and Keswick. A strip of the Silurian system runs from central Wales into Shropshire, and the alternation of hard limestone and soft, easily-worn shale has formed the abrupt terrace of Wenlock Edge. As you stand here, drinking in the magnificent view across the ‘coloured counties’, you may reflect that the rock beneath your feet consists of a compacted mass of millions of fossils of corals and marine creatures, and was once part of the slimy bed of a sub-tropical sea.

The next great system is the *Devonian*, or *Old Red Sandstone*. The two names are useful, for they represent two types of rock, formed at the same time but under different conditions, as the fossils show, and different in appearance. South of what is now the Bristol Channel, the land in the

Devonian period was gradually submerged and covered with a marine deposit, which now forms the surface of much of Cornwall, the district between Plymouth and Brixham, and the coastal strip of north Devon. Besides sandstone, not always red, the rocks in these parts consist of shale, slate and limestone; and their different degrees of hardness and varying colours have made the picturesque scenery of the Devonshire coasts, especially in the north around Ilfracombe and Lynton. North of the Bristol Channel is the Old Red Sandstone proper, in south Shropshire, Hereford, Monmouth, Brecon, and parts of Worcestershire and Gloucestershire. Here there was no general depression beneath the sea, but a folding of the older rocks to form a fresh-water basin of great lakes. Perhaps the typical scenery is the roundness of the Herefordshire hills and the whole of the middle course of the River Wye. Walking in Shropshire and Herefordshire soon after the War, I noticed few tramps in the one county and many in the other; perhaps Salopian workhouses were not so comfortable, but I suspect a preference for the mild gradients of Herefordshire as against hillier Shropshire with its older and harder rocks.

It is supposed that after the Devonian period the land slowly rose, and then there was another great subsidence when the layers of the *Carboniferous* age were formed. Great bands of limestone were laid in the sea-bed, grits<sup>1</sup> along the shores and estuaries of rivers, coal measures in vast inland swamps, where a tropical climate produced masses of rank vegetation. At the end of this period there were great earth-movements, and in England the country was folded into waves; in the valleys thus made the coal measures were preserved, but on the hills wind and rain wore them away and

<sup>1</sup> Millstone Grit.

exposed the limestone beneath. In Ireland there was not the same amount of folding, and the coal measures, lying horizontally on the surface, were eroded and have practically disappeared, leaving a limestone plain. The Mountain Limestone of the Carboniferous period is hard and durable, and has given us the bleak moorland scenery of Northumberland; the bold escarpments of the Pennine Chain and the Peak District; and, farther south, the Mendips. In these parts stone walls take the place of hedges, and on a summer evening they and their dark shadows look like twin ribbons running down the naked flanks of the hills.

The great local upheavals of the Carboniferous rocks, mentioned above, took place in the period known as *Permian*, and during the whole of this our north Atlantic Ocean was dry land. There were large inland seas like the present Caspian, one of which stretched an arm from Durham to Nottinghamshire, and in this was laid the narrow belt of magnesian limestone that runs down the eastern side of the Pennines. The rest of England was in those days a desert, traces of which remain in the *New Red Sandstone* of eastern Devon. Every one who travels by train from Exeter to Newton Abbot admires the deep red sandy soil, conspicuous above all along the coast by Dawlish and Teignmouth.

In the *Triassic* period which followed, desert conditions grew more severe, with a result of the greatest importance. During previous times of drought, as the waters dried, some of the fish had developed lungs and so became the first Amphibians, adapted to life both in the water and for short periods on land. In Permian times, some of them had taken to the land for good and hatched their eggs there, and there was an age of great Reptiles; and now during the Triassic age appeared the first Mammals, puny creatures beside the

monstrous Saurians, but equipped with a larger brain, quicker hearing, and better co-ordination of the limbs, enabling them to keep their balance more easily and walk without waddling. These, and not their fearsome contemporaries, are the remote ancestors of Man. Triassic rocks cover much of central England in Staffordshire, Leicestershire, Warwick and Worcester. There is mainly clay, shale and soft sandstone, in level or gently undulating stretches, and the land rarely rises above 800 feet.

Starting from the Irish Sea, we have now travelled in zig-zag fashion half-way across our island, and the rest of the journey is more direct. The Atlantic was still dry in *Jurassic* times, but the water had invaded Britain and has left the marked belt of clay and limestone that runs from Portland Bill and the Dorset coast through Wiltshire to the Cotswolds in Gloucester and Oxfordshire, and thence by Edge Hill and the Northamptonshire uplands to Lincoln Edge, the Yorkshire Moors and Cleveland Hills. This is the great dividing line of England. To the south-east lie the richest cornlands and the chalky pastures that together produced the wealth of England before the Industrial Revolution. There were found the thickest population, the centres of industry, and, save Bristol, the chief ports. The wealth of the district and the growth of a trading class can be seen from the great numbers of brasses of fine workmanship placed in churches as memorials of the dead. The people of the south and east embraced Protestantism the most readily, and were the most interested in politics. The Great Revolt of 1381, that we associate with the name of Wat Tyler, arose there; Ket's rebellion against inclosure of common lands in 1549 broke out in East Anglia; and the south-east, together with the sailors of Devon and Somerset and the clothing towns of

Lancashire, supported Parliament against Charles I in the Civil War. The north and west were poor and conservative, the 'home of lost causes'. The Cornish resisted the first Prayer-book in English, and the Yorkshiremen, with better reason, the suppression of the monasteries. Now much is changed. London is still London, but the working of the great coalfields of the Carboniferous age transferred industry and population—and, in our own day, unemployment—to the Tyne, Lancashire and the West Riding of Yorkshire, the Potteries and Black Country, and South Wales. Political influence has followed population and wealth, and to-day the *Manchester Guardian* is one of the few English newspapers with an international reputation. Along the great Jurassic belt that divides these two regions of England—a strip of limestone ridges with clay valleys and plains between—is some of the pleasantest of our scenery; in the hills is quarried the finest building stone, and from Dorset to the Humber stretches a line of magnificent churches, marking the frontier between the hurried industrial present and the steady, beauty-loving prosperity of the past.<sup>1</sup>

Next comes the Chalk (Latin *creta*), which has given its name to the *Cretaceous* period when seas and rivers deposited chalk, sand and clay all over the British Isles. Much has been weathered away, but two great limbs remain; one stretches from Purbeck in Dorset to the Norfolk coast, and beyond the Wash to Lincolnshire and the Yorkshire Wolds, the other from Salisbury Plain to Dover. Here are the rounded downs, the jolliest hills of England, clad in springing turf and intersected by an intricate system of valleys and channels where

<sup>1</sup> But industry is moving south again, and population with it, while London extends the arms of an octopus. It is for us to protect the countryside from indiscriminate 'development'.



no water now runs. These were to be the home of early man; on them and in them he found the flint for his weapons, and their summits are crowned with the ramparts that he dug.

The next era, called *Tertiary*, was an age of convulsion in which the Alps, the Pyrenees, the Rockies, and the Himalayas themselves received their final upheaval. In this country, also, mountains were thrust up, in Dorset, the Isle of Wight, Sussex and Kent; but they have all been worn away, and at last we must leave the hills. The Tertiary layers of England are divided into *Eocene*, which form the Hampshire basin, the valley of the lower Thames, Essex and north Kent; *Oligocene*, found only in the north of the Isle of Wight and the New Forest; and *Pliocene*, in the eastern half of Norfolk and Suffolk. They all consist of sandstone, shale and clay; to those who rush by in a car, their scenery may appear undistinguished or even dull; but they include the most genuinely rural haunts in England, and in a district where there is no building stone, the hand of man has framed houses and churches of timber, plaster, brick and flint in keeping with the homely and lovable beauty of the country-side.

During the Tertiary era the climate gradually became colder, and the *Pleistocene* period that followed the Pliocene was the Great Ice Age. Four times northern Europe was invaded by sheets of ice, the second and largest of which covered the British Isles as far south as the Thames, and when they retreated they left behind ice-marked boulders, boulder clay, shingle and sand that are our evidence for their existence. Between the invasions of ice there were milder periods during which real men appeared in Europe; some of them followed the retreating ice and animals across what is now the Channel, and Britain received her first human population; then the sea made its last great advance, and they became islanders.



CREST OF THE RIDGE AT COLLEY HILL, NEAR REIGATE, SURREY



But the sea is never satisfied, and ever since has been gnawing at our shores in one place, retiring in another. When the Great Reform Bill was passed, Dunwich was disfranchised. It had once been the chief port of Suffolk, with several monasteries and many churches, and for over five hundred years had sent two members to parliament; but in 1832 it lost them, for most of it was under the sea. Pakefield, near Lowestoft, is daily encroached on by the waves, and threatened with a similar fate; whereas the Great Orme at Llandudno has been joined to the mainland by a ridge of blown sand, and Harlech Castle, whose water-gate once opened upon the waves, now looks out to sea across a golf-links. Man has done his part too. Romney Marsh has been reclaimed; Athelney is no longer an island in a swamp; and except in name there are no Fens. I well remember how I wept when, as a child, I first read *Hereward the Wake*; it was not the misery of Torfrida or the debasement of Hereward that drew my tears, but the knell of a vanishing England that sounded in the title to the last chapter: 'How Deeping Fen was drained'.

We cannot leave this survey of England without a word about the climate. A Frenchman once made a good joke about it which will be repeated till the end of time, and one of ourselves invented the gibe that last year summer came on a Tuesday; but no one who remembers the years 1933 and 1934 ought ever to grumble again. Indeed, our complaints are but family bickering with the elements; we are proud of our weather, and our nature-poetry and water-colour drawing are the offerings of lovers. It has made us adaptable, quickened our blood to work, ripened our corn. It has made us patient, and given to the English what the late Sir Walter Raleigh called 'the divided mind'. Clear skies and brilliant sunshine,

in a land of pronounced light and shade, make for clear-cut thought and a precise language like Latin or French. We are not precise, and some foreigners call us hypocrites, or at best say that we do not know our own mind and prefer any compromise to any definite solution. Perhaps we may reply, as our weather might in like case, that we are seldom so satisfied with our own conclusions as to forget that there may be something better beyond. This way lies tolerance, and maybe the light of wisdom, breaking through unawares as the sun scatters the morning mist.

#### FURTHER READING

*British Regional Geology* (H.M. Stationery Office, 1s. 6d. each).

These pamphlets, of which twelve cover England and Wales, form the best introduction to the geology of this country. They are up-to-date, and are well printed and illustrated.

L. J. WILLS, *The Physiographical Evolution of Britain* (Arnold, 1929, 21s.).

J. E. MARR, *The Scientific Study of Scenery* (Methuen, 8th Edn., 1935, 7s. 6d.).

E. M. WARD, *English Coastal Evolution* (Methuen, 1922, 8s. 6d.).

JOHN ARCHIBALD, *Kentish Architecture as influenced by Geology* (Ramsgate, The Monastery Press, 1934, 2s. 6d.).

## II

Main

### EARLY MEN

'The face of the country is the most important historical document that we possess.'

H. J. RANDALL

It is difficult to recapture the habit of mind of any period of the past. It is hardest of all to think the thoughts of the earliest men, for the past in which they lived had, humanly speaking, no further past behind it; it was the *Ultima Thule* of mankind, with only the sea and the jungle beyond. I fancy that early men were in many ways like children. They had the same calm acceptance of what they were used to, the same dislike of the unfamiliar and dread of the unknown. They were often afraid, and yet curiosity could get the better of their fear. They were conservative in temper, upholders of tradition, rooted in custom, but once a novelty had won their hearts it took its place without question in their scheme of things. To-morrow meant little to them, and yesterday less; but to-day was an absorbing reality, and they lived in a perpetual present. They had no love of cleanliness, and to be tidy must have seemed a waste of time, as it does to the trees in autumn. They were usually hungry, and when they fed they ate too much and suffered from indigestion and nightmare. They were lazy, yet capable of intense and patient concentration on what pleased them or what their simple needs demanded, as is proved by their beautiful flint tools. They admired physical prowess and natural gifts of mind, and followed without question the leader who possessed them; but when age or sickness enfeebled him he had short shrift, and they were at all times quick to detect an impostor.

This is only conjecture, and unless it rings true you must disregard it; but one can steal a glimpse of the past by thinking backwards. Sometimes, if I feel peculiarly confident or self-satisfied, I discipline myself by imagining that I have been miraculously transported into the Old Stone Age, and I invite you to make the same journey. Suppose that the place is emptied of all people save you and your immediate family, and that you are left without roof or bed or clothes or store of food, surrounded by dangers known and unknown, with never a weapon or a fire save what your five wits can devise. How will you fare?

I have placed you in an unfair predicament. Your talents and way of life are the result of some 5,000 years of gradual conquest of nature by co-operation and specializing. The men of the Old Stone Age had at least 50,000 years of training in the difficult task of keeping body and soul together, when nature was often a tyrannical master and always a reluctant and unruly servant. Their life was necessarily mean and confined; they had to depend on themselves for everything, and they lived almost alone. You drop in casually at the club: theirs never left their side.

Yet they had begun to control nature, chiefly by the use of tools. The wooden ones, with rare exceptions, have rotted away, but in museums you can see their hand-axes, borers, scrapers and knives of chipped flint, their harpoons and needles of bone. They clothed themselves in skins, and it was to clean these of fat that they needed so many scrapers. They had a varied diet: frogs, snails, birds-eggs and nestlings, caterpillars, wild fruits, nuts, acorns and honey, besides the victims of the chase and the fish that they 'tickled' or speared. I fancy that there are more survivals of their way of life than we commonly imagine. They were huntsmen and fishermen,

and we have only to say *huntin' an' fishin'* to remind ourselves that their necessity has become our amusement, while frogs and snails are still delicacies to those who know how to enjoy them. Great creatures like the mammoth were dangerous prey, and hard to kill even when trapped; it was a blessing for men with tired limbs and empty bellies to find one dead, and they gnawed greedily at the already tainted flesh. That, I believe, is why some people still like their game 'high'. Their most valuable tool was fire, without which they could hardly have survived. Its blaze was cheering as well as warm and a protection against wild beasts. The men of the Old Stone Age roasted after a fashion, but most of the meat they gobbled was burnt or half raw. To this day we prefer roast meat to boiled, and though some folk are ready to take their cut of the joint as it comes, many want their meat overdone or underdone, and I suspect that this taste for the extremes of cooking is inherited from the earliest men.

Their houses, if such we may call them, were holes scooped out of the gravel near a river or nests in a large tree. They were shelters but not homes, for the hunter must follow the seasonal movements of the herds, or he will starve. During the colder periods of the *Pleistocene* age (see p. 10) they deserted their settlements in the open to live in the mouths of caves, wherever there was limestone country, and their remains have been found in the Cresswell Caves of Derbyshire and in the Mendips. They kept to the mouths of the caves because the interiors were not only dark but often damp and dripping, and early men suffered from rheumatism as we do. Yet in the depths, though nowhere in Britain, have been found the most astonishing relics of those distant days—engravings and paintings of animals, some of which, in their economy and masterly representation of movement, are splendid works of



art. They have been discovered in France and Spain, among our nearer neighbours, and I would also particularly mention two engravings of rhinoceros on basaltic rock in the Transvaal, one beast trotting along covered with tick-birds, the other savagely tossing a boy. Besides the engravings and paintings, and two bison modelled in clay at Ariège in southern France, decorated fragments of stone and bone have been unearthed from the debris in the caves, and painted pebbles, the meaning of which we do not know.

The small carvings on stone and ivory are not hard to understand; they seem to be the work of a naturally gifted artistic folk; the poorer examples may be the efforts of learners, and the more skilful engravings either ornaments for the home or sketches for the pictures on the walls. The motive of the artists who made the large pictures is less obvious; it cannot have been just the creation of beauty, or the desire for self-expression, because they worked in dark recesses by the light of a small lamp. Their object was, rather, to help the huntsmen by sympathetic magic. Primitive people regard the representation of the living form as a means of influencing the original; when an artist-magician engraved a reindeer he was hoping to bring it within the reach of the hunters, and if he planted an arrow in its heart, it was already in imagination their doomed prey. In a similar way, the statuettes of corpulent women which have been found in France and Austria were emblems of fertility. The artistic impulse lasted for many centuries, but gradually the vigorous line and bold modelling degenerated, the animals became more conventionalized, engraving ceased, and at length only the painted pebbles remained. But all was not lost when art declined, for already mankind was approaching the discovery which made civilized life possible.

Before considering the people of the New Stone Age and what they have left behind them, we must get some idea of Britain as it was when they were alive. If you turn to the map of Roman Britain, facing page 46, you will notice the great extent of woodland. Much of it was dense oak forest on the damp clay, with thorns and brambles growing between the trees, and there were miles of fens. Into these districts early men had neither the wish nor the means to penetrate, and so all movement was canalized. The highways *were* highways then, for they ran along the hills, where the going was easy and the view wide. Two of them, still to be enjoyed, are marked on the map: they are the Icknield Way and the Harroway, both clinging to the chalk escarpment and leading from the east to Salisbury Plain. This plateau was the true centre of prehistoric Britain; it offered a large habitable area and it was connected not only with the chalk downs but with the Jurassic ridge running across the midlands.

The same map reveals another constant influence of geography. A line drawn from the mouth of the Trent to Exeter separates the military area of Roman Britain from the area in civil occupation; it also separates the highlands from the lowlands, and though there are belts of lowland to the north and west of it, there are no real highlands in the south-east. As Dr. Fox has put it,<sup>1</sup> 'In the Lowland of Britain new cultures of continental origin tend to be *imposed* on the earlier or aboriginal culture. In the Highland, on the other hand, these tend to be *absorbed* by the older culture. Viewed in another aspect, in the Lowland you get *replacement*, in the Highland *fusion*.'

After these general remarks let us turn from the land to its inhabitants. The name 'New Stone Age' tells only a part of

<sup>1</sup> *Personality of Britain*, p. 31.

the truth, and not the most important part. It is true that the people who now entered Britain brought with them an improved technique of working flint, which included the making of polished axes. They also mined for their flints in the chalk hills, instead of making shift with what they could find on the surface or in river gravels, and they used other stones as well as flint. But many of their tools were not polished—I have picked up one such at Cissbury in Sussex—and the ‘newness’ that they introduced was fundamental, not a mere trick of the trade. They were, in fact, the founders of a civilization, and it lasted until the age of power production began some hundred and fifty years ago. They were the parents of rural England, and the machine has not yet destroyed their sturdy child. They tamed animals, grew corn, made pots, spun wool and wove cloth, built themselves huts, used dug-out boats, lived in communities and buried their mighty dead in noble tombs. But for them, there would have been no John Bull.

Of all their activities, agriculture mattered most, for the farmer must settle down; and when you settle down you discover something about the world and about yourself. Their store of corn and permanent supply of meat relieved them of the tyranny of the empty belly; the milk from their flocks brought a new security to the womenfolk and the young; their communal life taught them to co-operate, and opened the way to specialization and the interplay of ideas; the easier and more certain satisfaction of bodily needs gave them leisure to exercise their minds.

These enterprising folk have left us, in their camps and burial mounds, the earliest of our ancient monuments. The hill-forts that are such prominent landmarks on the downs were not of their digging, and were made by the men of the

Iron Age, but during the last thirty years a number of neolithic camps have been excavated. As one would expect, their ramparts are not so massive as those of the later forts, and some of them have been destroyed by cultivation, but enough remains to distinguish them from all later earthworks. A neolithic camp consists of an open space enclosed by a rampart and ditch. Sometimes there is an outer enclosure, or a couple, and occasionally one of them does not go all the way round. The special peculiarity of these camps is that the ditches are not continuous, but interrupted by causeways of undug chalk. If the causeways led to gaps in the rampart, one would feel confident that they were for entrance, but many of them do not. One explanation is that the ditches were dug in sections by gangs, and that the diggers did not bother to link up the separate pieces of work. Another view, which is becoming more general, is that the interrupted trenches were really rings of dwellings, and that the 'camp' was a village with its green in the middle where the cattle were kept. This is supported by the many finds of pottery and tools in the ditches; and by the general aspect of the camps, which have the air of peaceful settlements rather than defensive strongholds.

You can see the remains of neolithic camps at Windmill Hill, Knap Hill, Robin Hood's Ball, and other places in Wiltshire, and at Whitehawk Camp and the Trundle in Sussex. The Trundle is one of several instances where a neolithic site has been refortified in the Iron Age; this also happened at Maiden Castle in Dorset, and Plate 5, taken in August 1936, shows part of a ditch of the New Stone Age—buried for some 2,000 years beneath the vast ramparts, and now, after a brief airing and the surrender of its secrets to the excavators, soon to be buried again.

Oddly enough, the most striking remains of neolithic times are those which were buried by early men themselves! If you have never seen a group of stones called a dolmen or cromlech, you have probably looked at a photograph of one, like that of the Spinster's Rock in Plate 3, Fig. 2. Once upon a time this was part of a tomb, and was covered by an enormous mound. and so were all other groups of stones of this kind. They have been laid bare by enterprising farmers who needed loads of earth, and sometimes the stones themselves have gone to serve as gateposts. Wherever the farmers have held their hand, what you see is not the stone core of the tomb but the earthen covering; what we call a Long Barrow. There are about a hundred long barrows in Wiltshire, some forty in Dorset, fifty in the Cotswolds, a few in south Wales, and a few more even as far east as Yorkshire and Lincolnshire and Kent. There are long barrows in other counties, but those I have mentioned are enough to show the importance of Salisbury Plain as a neolithic centre, and the way in which the culture spread along the Jurassic and chalk hills, like fingers from the palm of a hand.

The people who introduced the long barrows ignored the rule that all invaders of Britain start by occupying Thanet. They came about 2300 B.C. from Spain and Portugal. They were determined and adventurous traders who pushed up the west coast of France to Brittany, and from there through the Irish Sea right round Scotland and across to Scandinavia. Cornwall was their natural gateway to Britain, and for once the west country was in the van of progress. They brought with them a megalithic culture, that is, the tradition and practice of building tombs of large stones. The 'quoits' of Lanyon, Chûn and Zennor in the Penwith peninsula of Cornwall are their work, and, like the Spinster's Rock already



1. ULEY, GLOUCESTERSHIRE.  
INTERIOR OF LONG BARROW



2. DREWSTEIGNTON, DEVONSHIRE. THE SPINSTER'S ROCK



mentioned, have been stripped of their covering.<sup>1</sup> The megalithic traders soon found their way as far as Salisbury Plain, and from there spread along the hills. They had to adapt their methods of building to the materials at hand. They used large stones wherever they could get them, but when there were none to be had they made the burial chambers of dry stone walling or even of wood; and they covered them with cairns of stone or mounds of earth according to the nature of the district.

A long barrow, then, is a roughly rectangular mound, generally pointing east and west and higher at the east end, and always covering a number of burials. The earliest barrows had a small entrance at the east end, through a doorway made by two upright slabs with a lintel across; this led into a passage, on either side of which were the burial chambers. Later, it was found easier to enter the chambers from the sides of the barrow, but a sham door at the end preserved the old outward appearance; and at last burials took place in cists or large stone boxes near the edge of the barrow, without passages. A few long barrows in the custody of the Office of Works can be inspected. For threepence I was given a key, candle and matches at Uley in Gloucestershire, and was able to crawl in and examine the inside of Hetty Pegler's Tump, and take some photographs with the aid of a bright sun filtering through the narrow entrance. (Plate 3, Fig. 1).

It is from the barrows and the ditches of the camps that knowledge of the life of the New Stone Age has been unearthed. The pottery shows that at least two sets of people entered Britain during this period. The earlier pottery came, like the builders of megalithic monuments, from the Atlantic

<sup>1</sup> The barrow of Lanyon Quoit was the only true long barrow in Cornwall. The rest were round, though they had megalithic graves within.



seaboard; the later from farther east, perhaps from Denmark. All the pots are rounded at the bottom, and many have perforated lugs at the sides, so probably they were meant to be hung up. They would not stand the fire, but water was warmed in them by roasting stones and dropping them in. Among other remains, the bones of a small ox with long horns are common, and those of the sheep, goat, pig, deer, dog, and other familiar animals have been found, but the horse was extremely rare. One use to which bones of birds and smaller animals were put was to ornament the pottery with rows of little incisions. Grain rubbers are a proof that agriculture was practised, but it was not much more than a scratching of the ground with wooden hoes or deer-antler picks. The meal or bread must have been very gritty with grains from the sandstone rubbers, for some skulls found in the barrows have teeth worn right down to the sockets.

The New Stone Age, though remarkably vigorous, was short. It began about 3000 B.C. and reached its climax a little before 2000 B.C. in the days of the long barrows; soon after that Britain suffered another invasion, and her lordship passed to a warlike people using weapons of bronze.

I can imagine the reader who has just finished the last section saying, 'What about Stonehenge?' The trouble is that the experts are still asking the same question, though gradually a consensus of opinion is being reached. Stonehenge is our most widely known and immediately impressive prehistoric monument, but it is simply one of a group, the purpose of which is uncertain and the date only approximate. The group includes the remains of the circles at Avebury, with their vast enclosing rampart and ditch and the long avenue leading to the Sanctuary on Overton Hill; the similar

rampart and ditch at Durrington Walls; Woodhenge close by, and another Woodhenge as far away as Norwich; the timber circles on Bleasdale Moor in Lancashire; and a whole series of stone circles. One of these is illustrated in Plate 4, Fig. 1, and there are others wherever suitable stone is to be found—at Boscawen-ûn near Land's End, Stanton Drew in Somerset, the Rollright Stones in Oxfordshire, Arbor Low in Derbyshire, and Long Meg and her Daughters in Cumberland, to name only a few of the best known.

This is not the place to describe even Stonehenge in detail, and those who wish to study ancient circles will find a full bibliography in the sixpenny pamphlet on *Field Archaeology* mentioned at the end of this chapter. But one can venture upon a few general remarks. The circles were later than the long barrows, and were built by people who occasionally used wood, even in districts where stone was obtainable—why, we do not know. All the circles are connected in some way with burials; this is not to say that they were tombs, but there are commonly tombs near them, and it is likely that they were associated with the cult of the dead. They may have been temples, and possibly they were used as places of assembly. Churches in the Middle Ages were temples and burial-places, and also resorts for a variety of secular purposes, including legal transactions (see p. 92), so there is no reason why circles should have had one exclusive use. Stonehenge was so constructed as to mark the summer solstice, and the orientation of many circles was deliberate; but we must not regard them as precise astronomical instruments, nor can we fairly deduce their date from their compass bearings, for so far as we know they were laid out by eye. When they were built we cannot say, except that as a class they are no older than the end of the New Stone Age, and probably no later in date than the

middle of the Bronze Age. We can, however, affirm that they had stood more than a thousand years before there were any Druids in Britain, and that if these priests used them it was at second or third hand.

The concentration of circles and barrows on Salisbury Plain and in regions accessible from there has led some to the view that religious observances attracted people from all over Britain to that hallowed spot. The truth seems rather to be that geography made the Plain the metropolis of Britain, and that the temples, if temples they are, followed the inhabitants and not the inhabitants them; though, of course, once they were erected they would become a magnet, as our cathedral cities still are. Amid so much provoking but fascinating uncertainty, Avebury and Stonehenge do reveal an age with enterprise to undertake grand designs, and leisure and manual labour adequate to complete them. There must have been an organized government, a considerable population, and skilful engineers.

Before the New Stone Age had exhausted its vitality the Bronze Age had begun. It began in eastern Britain, and with it our island entered on a long career as a receptacle for waves of 'civilizers' approaching from the south and east. Somewhere about 1800 B.C. people using flat-bottomed pots called beakers sailed across from the lands near the mouth of the Rhine. They settled in Yorkshire, East Anglia, Kent and Sussex, but soon pushed along the hills and took possession of Salisbury Plain, which became their chief centre. Possibly they reconstructed Stonehenge. They were equipped with well-made tools and weapons of flint, but they also possessed a few implements of copper, and of bronze, an alloy of copper and tin. Unlike the men of the New Stone Age they were

round-headed, not long-headed, and they buried their notable men and women in round barrows, the *tumuli* that are our commonest outdoor relic of prehistoric days. In the west a few round barrows are found with chambered tombs inside; there is one to be seen at Bryn Celli Ddu in Anglesey, in the care of the Office of Works; but in the main the new-comers gave up the megalithic tradition with its communal burials, and buried one body in each barrow, either in a stone box or cist, or else placed in a shallow grave or simply on the ground. Other users of bronze followed the Beaker-folk to Britain, and gradually they occupied all the suitable sites in the low-land zone, and much of the highlands too.

Despite the introduction of metal, Bronze Age civilization was really a continuation and development of that of the New Stone Age, and between 1800 B.C. and 500 B.C. there was little that we should call progress, except in metallurgy. Many of the bronzes are beautifully shaped. There are swords, knives, spearheads, razors, sickles, chisels, flesh-hooks, pins, a variety of ornaments and some handsome cauldrons. How gradual the emancipation from the past was may best be seen in the forms of the axes. Just as the bodies of the first motor-cars were shaped like horse-drawn vehicles, so the earliest bronze axes were flat like a polished stone celt; but when the possibilities of casting in moulds were further explored, the axes were furnished with ridges to hold the haft, and later a cross-ridge to prevent the butt end of the axe from cutting into and destroying the wooden handle. Next the ridges were curved over and joined, and finally it occurred to some one to cast the axe hollow and push the bent wooden handle into it, instead of fitting the axe-head into the haft.

But the most important change in the British Bronze Age had begun before the introduction of bronze, a statement less

paradoxical than it sounds, because the change was the work of nature and not of man. It was a change of weather: the New Stone Age had been warm and moist, but about the time when the megalithic traders reached Britain the climate was becoming drier, and dry it remained for practically the whole of the Bronze Age. One result of this was to make the limestone and chalk uplands waterless, and the population moved down towards the valleys until they reached the line of springs on which their lives depended. At Maiden Castle in Dorset neolithic man built a camp, and some fifteen centuries later there was an intensive occupation during the Iron Age, but the excavators have found no trace of habitation in the long years between, save a few fragments of beaker pottery. This does not mean that the hills were deserted; they were still important traffic routes and pasture grounds, and there the dead were buried as before, but the living had made their homes lower down the slopes where water was close at hand. It was some compensation that the higher moorlands of the west, formerly covered with bogs and shrouded in mist, now became habitable; on Dartmoor and Bodmin Moor there are abundant traces of life in the Bronze Age—not only the circles and cists and stone rows, but the groups of huts like that at Grimspound. These survive in large numbers all over the moors. The huts have rough stone walls three or four feet high, and were probably covered with poles and some sort of thatch; they are the only remains of Bronze Age dwellings still to be seen, but in the districts where they occur they are plentiful and well preserved, for neither the plough nor the speculative builder has disturbed them.

We do well to remind ourselves that terms like the Bronze Age represent a type of culture rather than a period of time,

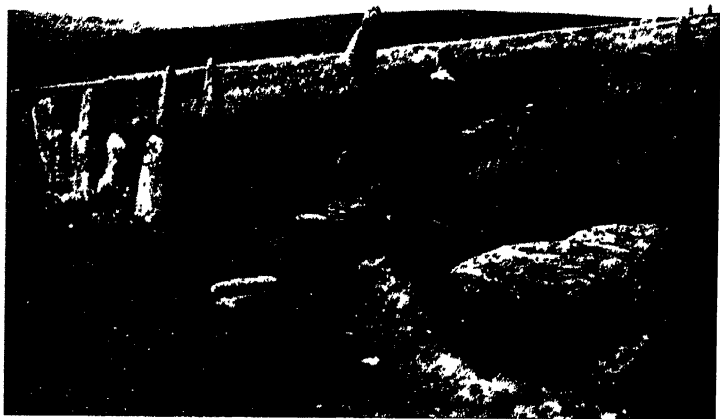
and that successive cultures reached us long after they had been established elsewhere. Our own Bronze Age lasted from, say, 1800 to 500 B.C.; its middle period is dated at about 1400 to 1000, but those dates have a different significance when applied to other parts of the world. Somewhere about 1400 B.C. iron was in use in the neighbourhood of the Black Sea, and by 1000 or soon after it had reached the Austrian Tyrol; its further journey as far as the shores of Britain took as long a time as has elapsed since Columbus discovered America. At first the new metal was regarded as something of an intruder; in ancient Rome the priest of Jupiter had still to shave with a bronze knife; but iron had the thrustfulness of the parvenu, and those who made their weapons of it possessed an argument that no users of bronze could resist for long.

Iron came to Britain from the lower Rhine, and was brought by the Celts, who were gradually being displaced by Germanic tribes, a procedure to be repeated in our own island some thousand years later. Mr. Christopher Hawkes has distinguished three invasions of Britain, called for convenience *A*, *B*, and *C*. The first invaders occupied the land as far as Dorset and the Wash, and the coastal fringe of Lincolnshire and Yorkshire. The second group came in the fourth century B.C. from Spain and Brittany, already connected with Cornwall by the tin trade, and conquered the whole country except for south Wales and the district enclosed by a line joining Colchester, Towcester, Cirencester, Bath, and Poole. The last invasion was that of the Belgae, who between 75 B.C. and the Roman conquest established themselves in a large area of south-eastern Britain, though not in Sussex.

It is only in the last hundred years that we have learned to disfigure the country-side with our towns. All earlier

builders contrived to make a happy marriage between man and nature, and none had better success than the men of the early Iron Age, whose tribal centres, the hill-forts, crown our pleasant uplands. The ramparts stand out clearly when you are several miles away; and well they may, for the distance from the summit to the bottom of the ditch may be a precipitate sixty feet. They were dug with deer-antler picks, and shovels made from the shoulder-blades of oxen, and the loosened soil was carried up in leather buckets or wicker baskets. Many were revetted with large blocks of chalk or limestone, and in some places with timber posts, but so far as we know they were not normally crowned with a palisade. In Somerset and other limestone districts the ramparts are of rubble faced with rough masonry, and at Dolebury (Plate 4, Fig. 2) and Worlebury this is exposed; elsewhere the turf has often concealed the method of construction. The entrances are of great variety. Many are curved inwards so as to expose attackers to a flanking fire of arrows and sling-stones, while excavation has shown that they were once closed by massive wooden gates and sometimes protected by guard-houses. Outworks were used to strengthen the entrance where the gradient was easy, and those of Maiden Castle are particularly complex, and disposed with much ingenuity. You cannot examine them without being impressed by the military skill of their designer, and as you wind your way between the banks you steal a glance to this side and that, almost expecting a sudden challenge or the whiz of an arrow past your ear.

But the hill-forts were much more than castles. They were populous villages, to be compared with a walled medieval town or a Greek *πόλις* rather than a mere military stronghold. Within the central enclosure were dozens of pits, most of



1. GIDLEIGH, DEVONSHIRE. PART OF SCORHILL CIRCLE



2. CHURCHILL, SOMERSET. RAMPARTS OF DOLEBURY





them dwellings, some storehouses, others perhaps tanks for collecting water, since channels like drains have been found leading into them. If these pits were really reservoirs they must have been lined with skins, or the water would have escaped all too soon. The problem of water-supply has exercised the minds of all investigators of hill-forts, and those who have camped amid their diggings have found it a problem for themselves. One explanation is the dew-pond, the springless hollow that does not dry up. It may be the true one, for they do hold water, even though many of the theories about them do not. What supplied them was not dew; much of it was surface drainage, and the rest would be the patches of low-lying cloud that hang in upland dells. To their efficacy I can bear witness. In 1934 I photographed the dew-pond by the path that leads into Battlesbury. It was dry as a bone after two phenomenal summers, and its bed was a network of deep cracks; according to all the rules its virtue had departed. In August 1936 I photographed it again; it held at least a foot of water, yet a carefully prepared concrete tank on Pewsey Hill was empty and in part grass-grown, and a cow looked into it with wistful resignation. Another view is that—despite Jack and Jill—the villagers went *down* the hill to fetch their water. Hill-forts, one reads, may have had to withstand a sudden attack or a day's investment, never a serious siege; this does not agree with what is known of Maori hill-forts in New Zealand, and it has not been proved, while we do know that in the Iron Age the climate had once more become damp—quite as damp as ours.

Not all the Iron Age folk lived in the hill-forts or even in the hills. There were groups of hut-circles like those at Chysauster in Cornwall, settlements in river valleys, and even 'lake-villages' in Somerset at Glastonbury and Meare.

One feels that the living were now less inclined to subordinate their comfort to the glorification of the dead. There were fewer barrows and smaller; burials were often in cemeteries; and there is increasing evidence of material comfort—larger houses, a great variety of implements and ornaments, the beautiful designs on the metal-work of Iron Age *B*, the shapely vases of the Belgae, turned on the wheel, the first British coinage, imported Roman pottery and jars of Mediterranean wine.

More important than all these are the fields. In many parts of southern England you will find rectangular inclosures arranged in chess-board fashion on the slopes of the chalk downs, and bounded by banks called lynchets. These inclosures are the corn lands of the Early Iron Age and of Roman Britain, and were cultivated during the millennium 500 B.C. to A.D. 500. In the New Stone and Bronze Ages corn was grown, most of it in irregular plots worked with hoes and digging-sticks, and later, perhaps, a foot-plough. At Chysauster similar plots—gardens, of a sort, for the houses—show that the early method survived for centuries, but Iron Age man also farmed on a larger scale and with a plough drawn by animals. He confined his activities to the slopes, because the valleys were undrained and marshy. For convenience he ploughed along the slopes, not up and down them; and he ploughed only in one direction, with the result of gradually levelling his fields. Every time that he ploughed a field, turning the sod downhill, he removed one sod from the upper edge and left one at the lower edge; in the course of years this would cut away a bank at the top of his field and make a bank at the bottom, and rain would carry earth and stones downwards, to lodge on the lower bank. That is how the lynchets were formed, and unless there has been later plough-

ing on a different system they are almost indestructible. The banks running up and down the slope are not lynchets; they would begin as balks of turf left as a boundary, and would increase in size because of their use as a convenient dumping ground for stones and other rubbish.

These early lynchets must not be confused with the strip-lynchets of Saxon and medieval times. Saxon villages are described in Chapter IV. They grew up in days when a heavier, wheeled plough was in use, needing a larger team of oxen, and the strips of their fields were long and narrow in order that the team might less often have to perform the awkward evolution of turning round. But ploughing was still one-way ploughing, and the lynchets were formed in just the same way as before.

The distinction between Celtic fields and Saxon fields is clear to the eye and has long been recognized, but in archaeology something is always turning up, and new knowledge sometimes does not fit into older theories. It used to be said that the heavy plough and the team of eight oxen were introduced by the Saxons; certainly the Saxons used them, and that, as I have pointed out, is why their furrows are longer than those of the Celtic fields. But what if the heavy plough was in use before the Saxons came? An article in the *Antiquaries' Journal* for October 1933<sup>1</sup> laid stress on the existence of coulter of Roman date that can have been used only with a heavy plough, and the writer argued that such a plough was introduced to Britain by the Belgae; in 1934 it was proved that a similar coulter in the British Museum came from a Roman villa in Gloucestershire. We are therefore confronted with the likelihood that strip-ploughing of some sort was practised in Britain before the English came. This does not

<sup>1</sup> 'Plough Coulters from Silchester', by Lt.-Col. J. B. P. Karlslake.

nullify the broad distinction between rectangular Celtic fields and the long Saxon strips, but it introduces a Tom Tiddler's ground somewhere between them. I am not an expert, and so I shall not step on to this dangerous surface; but I wanted to mention it, to show how the truth is reached amid the ebb and flow of controversy. This brings our description of early men to a close with a note of interrogation. That is as it should be; curiosity may have killed the cat, but it preserved man's body and nourished his soul.

This ounce of doubt following a hundredweight of dogma may make the reader wonder how we can be so bold in our assertions about early man. Where does all the knowledge come from? Most of it comes out of the ground. In England early man lived mainly in the chalk hills, and the rock in which his ditches and huts were cut is plainly to be distinguished from everything that has filled them since. Therefore, if one knows where to dig, layer after layer can be uncovered, photographed, inspected and catalogued, and inch by inch the path of the years can be traced downwards. The pick and spade are clumsy detectives, but with fork and trowel and penknife and gently sweeping brush the blanket of time is removed, and if everything is recorded interpretation can proceed at leisure. A valuable aid is photography from the air, which reveals differences in crops caused by the presence of disturbed soil; and if photographs are taken when the sun's rays are slanting, they show up in open ground little banks and hollows that the eye would overlook. Tests on the ground will confirm what the bird's-eye view suggested, and a 'boser' or rammer will say *thud* or *thoomp* as you strike upon solid earth or earth that has been disturbed.

But when everything is described and documented, the



MAIDEN CASTLE, DORSET. EXCAVATIONS IN 1936



pits filled in and the turf replaced, what is the good of it all? Hear the answer of a man who has devoted his life to archaeology:<sup>1</sup>

'One can learn more about a vanished race by handling the things their hands have made, their pottery, their stone and bronze implements and their ornaments; by walking along the roads which have grown under their tread; by climbing the grassy slopes of their abandoned earthworks, or resting in the shadows of their mighty buildings; one can learn more in this intimate way than by reading all the books that have ever been written. For the letter killeth, but the spirit still haunts their old handiwork, and one can absorb it by the mere contact.'

So much for the facts that the past surrenders to the seeker; but what about the effect on him of his long and arduous search?

'We have created mighty empires out of dust, and have watched them crumbling again. In our eyes a thousand years are but as yesterday. We deal wholesale in time; and having strengthened our vision by scanning the vistas of the past, we find that we can also view the future with less uncertainty.'<sup>2</sup>

#### FURTHER READING

*Field Archaeology* (H.M. Stationery Office, 1936, 6d.). Begin with this; it has full bibliographies.

The British Museum, *Flints*, by R. A. SMITH (1931, 6d.).

The British Museum, *Guides to the Antiquities of the Stone, Bronze, and Early Iron Ages* (latest editions, 2s. 6d. each).

Ordnance Survey Professional Paper No. 6, *Long Barrows and Stone Circles of the Cotswolds and Welsh Marches*, by O. G. S. CRAWFORD (1922, 4s. 6d.).

Ditto, No. 7, *Air Survey and Archaeology*, by O. G. S. CRAWFORD (1928, 5s.).

Ditto, No. 8, *Long Barrows and Megaliths of Kent, Surrey, and Sussex*, by O. G. S. CRAWFORD (1924, 6s.).

<sup>1</sup> O. G. S. Crawford, *Man and his Past*, p. 19.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 37.



Ordnance Survey *Map of Neolithic Wessex* (1932).

Ditto of the *Trent Basin*, by C. W. PHILLIPS (1933).

Ditto of *South Wales*, by W. F. GRIMES (1936).

Ditto of *Celtic Earthworks of Salisbury Plain—Old Sarum* (1933, 3s.).

O. G. S. CRAWFORD, *Man and his Past* (Oxford, 1921, 10s. 6d.) is most stimulating; deals with the methods and philosophy of archaeology.

CYRIL FOX, *The Personality of Britain* (Cardiff: National Museum of Wales, 2nd Edn., 3s. 6d.). The best geographical introduction, with nearly 50 maps; full of ideas, and beautifully produced despite the low price.

T. D. KENDRICK and C. F. C. HAWKES, *Archaeology in England and Wales*, 1914-31 (Methuen, 1932, 18s.). Authoritative, full, and well illustrated.

E. C. CURWEN, *Air Photography and Economic History* (The Students' Bookshops, Ltd., Houghton St., Aldwych, W.C. 2, 1s.). Concerns lynchets.

M. E. CUNNINGTON, *An Introduction to the Archaeology of Wiltshire* (C. H. WOODWARD, Devizes, 2nd Edn., 4s.).

E. C. CURWEN, *Prehistoric Sussex* (Homeland Association, 10s. 6d.).

R. E. M. WHEELER, *Prehistoric and Roman Wales* (Oxford, 1925, 18s.). The last three books are of general value, not merely for the districts they deal with.

— *The Excavation of Maiden Castle, Dorset* (*Antiquaries' Journal*, July 1935 and July 1936; also printed as separate pamphlets at 1s. each; the final report is to come).

*The County Archaeologies* (Methuen, 10s. 6d. each). These cover the period to 1066. The following volumes have so far been published: Berkshire, Cornwall and Scilly, Middlesex and London, Kent, Somerset, Surrey, and Yorkshire.

*An Historical Geography of England before 1800*, ed. H. C. DARBY (Cambridge, 1936, 25s.).

For those with £1 a year to spend on the study of early men, I know of no better investment than a subscription to the quarterly *Antiquity*. There you can read of the latest discoveries and theories about the subject-matter of Chapters II—V, and feel that you are following the hunt yourself. It is addressed to the layman as well as the expert, and has been invaluable to me.

### III

## ROMAN BRITAIN

'Rome! It was fascinating to think that it lay at the other end of this white ribbon that rolled itself off from my feet over the distant downs.'

KENNETH GRAHAME

THE Roman occupation of Britain began with no sudden conquest and ended with no sudden withdrawal. It was a long process, and may be likened to a road gradually ascending a mountain and descending on the other side. The ascent was not even; there were abrupt rises—when romanization proceeded apace, as under Agricola—and sudden declivities, marking a great rebellion or an incursion from the north. Nor was the descent one steady decline, for it was interrupted by the peaceful reign of Constantine the Great; but after about A.D. 275 the general trend was downwards, until in the fifth century the path of Roman influence disappears in mists of legend.

To make clearer the ebb and flow of events in so long a period, this chapter begins with a list of dates; and then goes on to its principal purpose, a description of the remains of Roman Britain—deserted now, save the roads, except for the likes of ourselves, but echoing to the inner ear with the tap of the mason's hammer and the tramp of armed men.

If this table alarms you, skip it.

B.C.

55 and 54. Invasions of Julius Caesar. No conquest, but tribute paid to Rome.

A century of progressive though slight romanization of the south-east.

A.D.

43-50. Conquest as far as Exeter, Caerleon, Chester, and Lincoln in the reign of Claudius.

- A.D.  
 61. Unsuccessful rebellion of Boudicca (misspelt Boadicea).  
 77 or 78-84 or 85. Agricola Governor. Conquest of Wales and the north of England. Forts built between Solway and Tyne. Invasion of Scotland. Forts built between Clyde and Forth. Victory at Mons Graupius, north of these. Recall. Rapid romanization in the south and east.
- 115-27. Successful rebellion in Scotland and the north of England, followed by building of Hadrian's wall.  
 143. Turf wall built between Clyde and Forth.  
 c. 155-8 }  
 c. 180-84 } Loss and recovery of turf wall.  
 196-7. Clodius Albinus called himself Emperor and took the troops to Gaul. Loss of both walls and much of northern England.  
 208-11. Campaigns in Scotland of Emperor Severus—no permanent conquest—turf wall abandoned.  
 211-75. Peace and much progress.
- c. 280. Saxon raids on the south-east began.  
 288-96. Carausius and Allectus usurped imperial title in Britain. Hadrian's Wall lost and recovered.  
 300-60. Another period of peace—Constantine I 306-37.  
 367. Great invasion of Picts and Scots, aided by Saxons, reaching as far as Kent.  
 369. Restoration of Roman rule, but not the old prosperity.  
 383-8. Magnus Maximus usurped the title of Emperor, and took most of the troops from Britain.  
 395. Army in Britain reorganized by Stilicho.  
 407. Another usurper, Constantine, took the army away again, and Britain was never re-garrisoned.

All roads lead to Rome, and all Roman roads in Britain lead to London. There was no London town before the Romans came, but they recognized at once its unrivalled position as a centre of communications, and it was important enough for Boudicca to burn in A.D. 61. Her rising was a last desperate venture, like Hereward's at Ely a thousand years later, and as early as A.D. 50 the Romans had pushed out fan-wise to Lincoln, Chester, Caerleon and Exeter. At first sight it seems hard to understand how the Roman road-makers,

working without maps, knew where they were going to get to, but the roads followed the eagles of the legions, and the line of advance was known. When the actual construction was begun, the engineers would have as guides the temporary camps dug by the troops wherever they rested for the night and the information obtained from scouts and captured natives, not to mention the tracks that must already have existed in many parts. With these aids for their general guidance they were able to lay out the roads section by section, from one landmark to another. Working in this way, they naturally built them not in a continuous straight line but in a series of straight stretches, making sharp corners and not bends if they had to change direction between one prominent point and the next. Their fondness for straight lines was due to no foible of the parade ground, and the roads wind where the lie of the land demands it; but they dug in haste, aware of hostile watchers in the undergrowth; and the military need to get out of wooded valleys as soon as possible led them to use steeper gradients than ours, and to cling to the crest of a ridge as long as they could, so as to command a wide view and avoid dead ground.

The roads were often raised on a causeway between ditches, for the land was then undrained; otherwise their methods were surprisingly like ours. A bed was laid with large lumps of stone, and the surface consisted of gravel rammed in, and the road was cambered and provided with a kerb. Occasionally the surface was topped off with flat paving stones; these survive in a few places, notably on Blackstone Edge.

One road differs from all the rest—the Fosse Way which joined Exeter and Lincoln. It cuts across the great lines of communication, and cannot have been built for war or commerce. It is particularly straight, and probably marked a

temporary frontier in the early years of the conquest. To this day it retains in Warwickshire the sequestered air that it must have borne when the real midlands were almost uninhabited, and you can walk along it right across the county without being hooted at, save by an owl. As you take your pleasure on its untarred surface you will have time and quiet to reflect on the practical genius of imperial Rome, whose roads in her remotest province span the gulf between the first century and the twentieth.

It is one thing to conquer a country and another to keep it; let us turn to the defences of Roman Britain. These were based on the three great fortresses of Caerleon, Chester and York, each of which was the head-quarters of a legion, a brigade of 5-6,000 highly trained infantry, all Roman citizens. In advance of the legions were auxiliaries, including both infantry and cavalry. They were recruited from recently conquered barbarian tribes and then sent into distant provinces where they would have no temptation to desert. These less specialized and more easily replaced troops guarded the frontiers, patrolled no-man's-land and dealt with casual raids, and doubtless had some nasty things to say about 'brass-hats' and 'base-wallahs' whose lives they sweated to secure; but when there was a serious inroad they fell back upon their legion, which was both the reserve and the main striking force.

The nearest enemies were the Welsh, but when Agricola arrived south Wales had already been subdued; he conquered the north and Anglesey, and after A.D. 80 the Welsh settled down to make the best of it, and absorb Latin words into their vocabulary. The country was garrisoned by auxiliaries in some two dozen small forts linked by new roads, and of urse there were the legions at Caerleon and Chester.

But the troops at Chester really faced north, for the tribes of Scotland were always dangerous and were often helped by the fierce Brigantes who lived in Yorkshire. There was a legion at York and small forts beyond, and the problem was, as so often in life, where to draw the line.

In the reign of the Emperor Hadrian, who visited Britain himself, it was decided to make the frontier from the Tyne to the Solway Firth, and there the great system known as Hadrian's wall was built. Less than twenty years after, a turf wall was constructed from the Forth to the Clyde, but this was too far from York to be held permanently, and when Severus died it was given up for good. Already Hadrian's wall had itself been lost for a time when Clodius Albinus took away the British troops to support his claim to the purple; and twice more it was taken and recovered before being finally abandoned.

More than a hundred years before this happened, a new enemy began to outflank the Roman defences; Saxon pirates attacked the southern and eastern shores, and Britain was threatened for the first time on two sides at once. Eleven forts were built by the sea, from the Wash to the Isle of Wight, and an officer entitled Count of the Saxon Shore was put in charge of them, with a fleet in the Channel, while five signal stations were later set up on the Yorkshire cliffs and the legion at Caerleon was moved to Richborough. But the end was near, and in 407 a fifth and final pretender to the Empire sailed away with the troops, and so far as we know they returned no more.

What is there to see, to remind us of these bitter struggles? There is really a great deal, but it is often fragmentary and is widely scattered, except for the military remains in museums. Of the legionary stations Chester has remodelled walls, there

are walls and bastions at York, and at Caerleon there is also a restored amphitheatre. There are forts, as at Cardiff Castle, Melandra in Derbyshire, Hardknott in Cumberland and Ribchester, or the better preserved Housesteads and Chesters on the Wall; and camps, of which the finest example is the remote Makendon group on the Scottish border, eleven miles south-west of the Cheviot; a list of these is given under their counties at the end of the book. Above all, there is the Wall of Hadrian, with its complex of forts, vallum, military road and quarries, and its depot for supplies at Corbridge. I am not going to attempt to write about what Mr. Collingwood has so graphically and fully described in a pamphlet that any one can buy for sixpence; I would only draw attention to his remark that the Wall was built not as a vast fortress but as a patrolled frontier. At the fort of Housesteads you can see traces of the days when there were no longer legions to come to its succour; on the sides remote from the Wall there are platforms for stone-slinging engines, showing that the garrison was isolated, and one can imagine their fight to the death against the wild men of the moors. Apart from the Wall, the most interesting military remains are on the Saxon Shore. The ruins of Walton Castle lie under the sea near Felixstowe, and the stonework above ground at Brancaster in Norfolk would not overload a small coal-cart; but there are imposing walls at Burgh Castle, Reculver, Richborough, Lympne, Pevensey and Porchester, the remains of a signal-station at Scarborough, and of a lighthouse at Dover. The last reminds us that the Romans brought with them peace as well as a sword.

The area in which *pax Romana* held sway was bounded roughly by a line from the Humber to the Bristol Channel, and then from the mouth of the River Parret in Somerset to

Exeter. North and west of this line there are few villas and very few towns; south and east of it there are hardly any forts, save those along the Saxon Shore. In this region, especially the parts of it that we call East Anglia, Kent and Wessex, the 'Ancient Britons' of the old history books were not wild painted savages, but skilful potters and workers in metal, farmers and merchants, possessed of a widely circulating coinage. Many of them were not ancient at all, for one set of Belgae from Gaul conquered Kent only twenty years or so before Julius Caesar's expeditions, and another established themselves in Wessex soon after he had withdrawn his troops; indeed, in the century between the reconnaissance of Julius Caesar and the conquest of Claudius, southern Britain was already becoming romanized, as is shown by the large imports of foreign pottery revealed in recent excavations at Colchester.

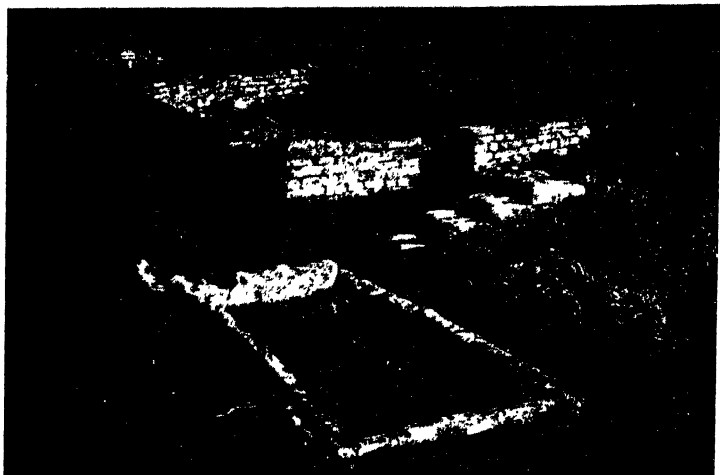
Though the Britons of the south were by no means barbarians the Romans had much to offer them, and they accepted it gladly. What strikes us most about the civilization that developed is its surprising modernity; there were not only metalled roads, but town-planning, central-heating, an abundance of baths and a large class of country gentlemen. There was a theatre at St. Albans; gladiatorial shows were held at most towns; and in London there may even have been a traffic problem.

Let us consider the towns first. The Ordnance Map of Roman Britain marks twenty-nine of them, of which twenty are south of Worcester, Northampton and Cambridge, then only villages. The senior towns were the *Colonies*—Colchester, Gloucester, Lincoln and York, settlements of time-expired legionaries—and the self-governing *municipium* of Verulamium (by St. Albans); secondly, a group of about a dozen, such as Cirencester, Winchester and Leicester, were



tribal capitals, where the chieftains became the magistrates responsible for their districts to the imperial government; third, there is a larger number of quite small towns, not all marked as towns on the ordnance map, posting-stations such as Wall in Staffordshire on the Watling Street. Outside this grouping are London, the centre of commerce and finance, and Bath, a 'spa' then as now. Their arrangements were simple and uniform. They were divided by streets running at right angles like those of an American city to-day, and near the centre, in an angle where two main roads crossed, was the *forum* or market-place where every one congregated for public business or private gossip. Around the forum were shops and the *basilica* or town hall. Other public buildings were temples and baths, and doubtless there were inns. The houses were rarely crowded, and many towns must have resembled the 'garden-cities' of our own day. Normally they were fortified by a wall, as can be seen at Caerwent (Plate 6, Fig. 2), and the main entrances had gates, like the Newport Arch at Lincoln; outside would be the cemetery, and an amphitheatre, such as Maumbury Ring at Dorchester, where the population turned out to see men, who nowadays would struggle for a ball, fight with beasts or with one another.

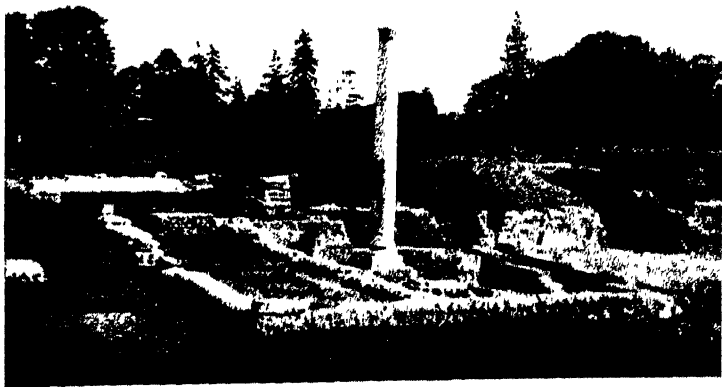
But the characteristic settlement in Roman Britain was the villa or country estate, a combination of manor house and farm, where the 'gentry' lived among their dependants in a style that has been the ambition of successful Britishers ever since. Some 500 villas have been traced, and excavation has shown what the houses looked like. The commonest type was what is called the corridor house. It was long, and had a corridor in front, from which all the rooms were entered; often there were wings at each end, and then the shape became that of half an H; if the two wings were joined by a



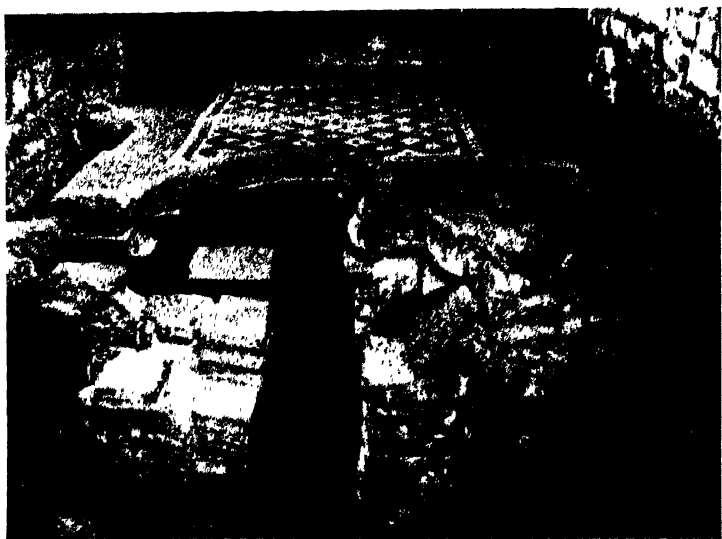
1. HOUSESTEADS, NORTHUMBERLAND. LATRINES OF ROMAN  
FORT



2. CAERWENT, MONMOUTHSHIRE. BASTION OF SOUTH WALL



1. ST. ALBANS, HERTFORDSHIRE. ROMAN THEATRE



2. CHEDWORTH, GLOUCESTERSHIRE. HYPOCAUST AND TESSELLATED PAVEMENT

fourth set of buildings there was a courtyard house, and the wealthiest villas were of this sort. In Chapter XI we shall see that in the Middle Ages houses developed on similar lines, not from imitation but because the plan is natural and convenient. But the standard of comfort was far beyond the dreams of medieval days. The living rooms had tessellated pavements and their walls were covered with painted plaster; they were kept at a warm and even temperature by heated air, and almost every villa had its suite of baths. To us the baths seem palatial. The method of enjoying them was to undress and then lounge and talk in the gently warmed *tepidarium*; when your turn came, or time pressed, you entered the *cal-darium* which was hot enough to make you sweat, and after that the *sudatorium*, if there was one, which was hotter still. Then you were scraped with a metal *strigil*, as we might be rubbed down with a rough towel, and after cooling gradually in the *tepidarium* you prepared yourself for the outer air by a swill in cold water. The warmth came from a furnace next to the hottest room, and the heated air circulated under the floors, which were supported on piles, and up the walls through hollow flue-tiles shaped like boxes. The whole system is called a *hypocaust*, and Fig. 2 of Plate 7 shows the piles of one of the hot rooms of the villa at Chedworth, with the tessellated pavement above. Comfortable and in some ways luxurious as these villas were, we must not imagine that they were the dwellings of Romans; they were the country seats of romanized Britons, children and grandchildren, some of them, of chieftains who had driven their chariots with Boudicca to war.

Of course, not all even of the civilized south was dotted with villas. On Salisbury Plain and in north Dorset there are hardly any, but only native villages where romanization was

less thorough, and in some is shown merely by the discovery of pottery of Roman type. In east Sussex, where spread the forest of Anderida, there were neither villas nor villages, but simply the huts of the iron-miners. And when we go west and north into the military area, traces of romanization, apart from the roads and fortified posts, are few and far between.

What, then, did the romanization of Britain amount to? In the south-east, the area of towns and villas, it was very considerable. The Britons were not just a subject race, kept down by the army, for the army was away in the north and west or along the Saxon shore, guarding the frontiers. On the contrary, they embraced the new civilization and became Romans as far as they were able, in customs, in sentiment, and in speech. Perhaps the last is the most significant of all. No Celtic inscription of the Roman period has ever been found, but there are fragments of Latin scratched on tiles and pottery which show that the language was understood not only by the rich but by ordinary workmen. One such scrawled *satis* on a tile, either because he was pleased with it or because he had done enough for the day; another wrote, '*Austalis dibus XIII vagatur sibi cotidim*'—'For the last fortnight Augustalis has been off on his own every day'. In Cirencester museum there is a shard inscribed with a square word, the 'cross-word' of an earlier day:

R O T A S  
O P E R A  
T E N E T  
A R E P O  
S A T O R

'Arepo the sower holds the wheels with care.'

Even in the remote parts where there are no villas, imported Roman pottery is common in native settlements; and in the decorations of the home-made Castor ware, and in some bronze brooches and a few sculptures like the famous 'Gorgon of Bath', Celtic vigour is married to the Roman tradition and produces a real Romano-British art. In museums, besides a profusion of pottery, we can see window-glass, door-locks, pocket-knives, spoons with a pointed end to poke out shell-fish, colanders, steelyards for weighing, writing tablets and ink-pots, a doctor's forceps and probes; we feel that we are on a visit to people like ourselves, and so we are. The insistent question is, What happened that such a civilization should disappear as it did before the Saxon invaders? The answer seems to be twofold: in the first place, the terrible northern inroad of 367 wasted the villas, the centres of civilization, and they never recovered; secondly, the Saxons chose fresh sites to settle in, and either destroyed or ignored the old habitations. Many of the most romanized Britons perished, and the rest were enslaved or driven away. Perhaps the invaders feared a civilization that they did not understand. In any case none of them settled in the villas; if they had, they would doubtless have kept their fuel in the bath; and towns like Silchester and Wroxeter were left desolate, to moulder away until, long afterwards, a few enterprising folk discovered their value as a quarry for building materials.

When to-day we look at the remains of Roman Britain we see the vestiges of a civilization like our own, and yet not a part of our own. With the exception of the roads, everything seems to be an exhibit in a vast and scattered museum, or the bones of a flourishing life that was wounded and then left to die. Die it did, and the dust of centuries covered it, save what has been described, and what builders put to a new use in

church walls and towers in the stoneless counties; and now the romanization of Britain survives only in the Minister of Transport, the figure of Britannia on our pennies, the names of the months, and the numerals by which we distinguish our kings and tell the time

### FURTHER READING

- |  |   |          |
|--|---|----------|
| <i>Man and his Past</i>  | } | op. cit. |
| <i>Personality of Britain</i>  |   |          |
| KENDRICK and HAWKES  |   |          |
| E. C. CURWEN, <i>Air Photography</i>   |   |          |
| M. E. CUNNINGTON   |   |          |
| R. E. M. WHEELER   |   |          |
| <i>The County Archaeologies</i>  |   |          |
| <i>Historical Geography</i>  |   |          |
| Ordnance Survey <i>Map of Roman Britain</i> (2nd Edn., 1931).  |   |          |
| The British Museum, <i>Guide to the Antiquities of Roman Britain</i><br>(latest edition, 2s. 6d.).                   |   |          |
| London Museum Catalogue: <i>London in Roman Times</i> , by R. E. M.<br>WHEELER (1930, 2s.).                          |   |          |
| R. G. COLLINGWOOD, <i>Roman Britain</i> (Oxford, 1932, 6s.).   |   |          |
| —— <i>The Archaeology of Roman Britain</i> (Methuen, 1930, 16s.).  |   |          |
| —— <i>Guide to the Roman Wall</i> (Reid, Newcastle, 6d.).  |   |          |
| R. G. COLLINGWOOD and J. N. L. MYRES: <i>Roman Britain and the<br/>English Settlements</i> (Oxford, 1936, 12s. 6d.). |   |          |
| Also the three stories about Parnesius in <i>Puck of Pook's Hill</i> .   |   |          |







## IV

### THE ENGLISH AND THE VIKINGS

Hard was the hand-play the Mercians refused not  
To one of the warriors wending with Anlaf,  
Who o'er the surging seas in the ship's bosom,  
Doomed in the fight to die, fared to our land.  
From a translation of the *Song of Brunanburh*.

WHEREAS the story of Roman Britain describes a rise and then a decline, that of early England begins with the collapse of a civilization, and passes through years of racial and tribal war towards some sort of unity under the house of Alfred. But then come forty fatal years of weakness, and the conquest by Cnut the Dane; and though Edward the Confessor who succeeded Cnut's sons could trace his descent from Alfred, his mother, his friends and education were Norman, and his reign is less truly a Wessex sunset than a Norman dawn. The brief rule of Harold is the epilogue of Saxon England; and the exploits, mythical or historical, of Hereward the Wake are a flash of the dying Viking tradition.

This chapter, like the last, begins with a table of dates. It is not easy to compress the events of six centuries into a page or so, but it is harder still to follow a long and tangled story without a clock to record the swift passage of the years; and you need not look at the clock unless you wish.

- c. 280. 'Saxon' raids on the south and east began.
- after 400. Final removal of Roman troops.
- c. 450. Beginning of settlements by the English tribes.
- c. 500. British victory over the invaders at 'Mount Badon'.
- 571. Invaders defeated Britons at 'Bedcanford'. If this was not at Bedford, it was probably east of the middle Thames.
- 577. West Saxons defeated Britons at Deorham (Dyrham in Gloucestershire) and took Gloucester, Cirencester, and Bath.

## THE ENGLISH AND THE VIKINGS

- The beginning of the isolation of the Britons of Devon and Cornwall from those of Wales.
- c. 616. Ethelfrith of Northumbria defeated Britons near Chester. The beginning of the isolation of the Britons of Wales from those of the north-west.
- c. 620-80. Struggle for supremacy between kingdoms of Northumbria and Mercia.
- Conversion of the English (a) from Rome.*
597. St. Augustine landed in Thanet. Conversion of Kent and missionary work in Essex and East Anglia.
625. Mission of Paulinus to York, without much permanent success.
635. Mission of Birinus to Wessex.
- Conversion of the English (b) from Iona.*
635. Aidan came to Lindisfarne and converted much of Northumbria, and preachers from Scotland evangelized Mercia.
- Completion of the conversion.*
664. Synod of Whitby. Disputes between Roman and Scottish-Irish Churches settled in favour of Rome.
- 669-90. Theodore of Tarsus, Archbishop of Canterbury, organized the Church in England.
- 681-6. Wilfrid converted Sussex.
- 688-725. Ine, King of Wessex.
- 691-735. Bede flourished at Jarrow.
- 757-96. Offa, King of Mercia; perhaps the greatest king in England before Alfred.
- 776-82. Alcuin head of the school at York. Went to Charlemagne in 782.
- c. 790. First Viking raid.
- 802-39. Egbert, King of Wessex; founder of the greatness of that kingdom.
- 850-1. Danes first wintered in England, in Thanet. Many wars up to 878 and their conquest of the Danelaw, roughly north-east of Watling Street.
- 871-99. Alfred.
- 886-975. Reconquest of the Danelaw, and strong government by Edward the Elder, Athelstan, Edmund and Edgar. Dunstan flourished 950-80.
- 980+. Renewed Viking invasions. Ethelred the Redeless.
- 1016-35. Cnut the Dane, King of England and of a Scandinavian Empire.
- 1042-66. Edward the Confessor.
1066. Harold and William the Conqueror.

It is an irony of circumstance that the Romans, whose conquest of Britain had so little permanent effect on our island, have left miles of stone walls and foundations behind them, while of our ancestors the Anglo-Saxons there is not a house to be seen. The reason is that the English built of wood, and made many clearings in the forests—backwoods-men, the romanized Britons would have called them—and their dwellings have all perished by fire, rot and replacement. It is only in the last few years that scientific excavation has revealed what some of their homes were like, but now you can at least go to the British Museum and inspect a reconstruction of a weaver's hut from Bourton-on-the-Water, while there are others to see at Cambridge. The first thing a Saxon peasant did when building a hut was to dig a chamber about two feet deep, and then set up one or more posts to support the roof. This he made of thinner poles, stuck into the ground or into a low wall of mud and wattle or straw, and inclined inwards to the central post or to a ridge-pole; and on a framework of cross-pieces he secured a thatch. Enough house-sites have been explored to give us some idea, not only of the huts themselves, but of the people who lived in them. They were dirty in their ways, tossing their bones and rubbish on the floor, to be trodden in casually until as much as six inches of compressed refuse sometimes covered the gravel bottom. Two huts even had burials beneath, one of a middle-aged man and the other of a dog; and in the latter, where there was no hearth, water had been boiled by the prehistoric method of dropping hot stones into the pot. Yet in this poorest and most squalid dwelling a silver disc, an ivory arm-let, and coloured glass beads were found—there must have been glimpses of a simple luxury even amid all the filth and discomfort. What is more astonishing is that rude, windowless

huts, of similar construction, survived and were lived in near Athelney in the nineteenth century, and were used even later by the charcoal burners of Epping Forest.

The old English aristocracy did not occupy hovels such as these, but log houses like those of the early settlers in America, surrounded by outhouses and farm buildings and protected from marauders and wild beasts by a stockade. Such a 'hall' is described in the poem *Beowulf*; what is more to our purpose, we can see buildings like it still—the great aisled barns like those at Cressing in Essex or Godmersham in Kent. Only the earls and greater thegns would have homes of this sort, but we can imagine many grades of timber houses between the nobleman's hall and the miserable sties of the poor.

The English were tillers of the soil. In Devon and Cornwall, Wales and the districts west of the Pennines, the Celtic system of pasture-lands and scanty upland agriculture continued, but to the east England was gradually brought under the plough, wherever the forests allowed and wherever the soil was not too thin. The invaders made most of their earliest settlements in the valleys, gradually extending them by clearances of woodland and the occupation of some of the limestone and chalk hills. Their villages and system of farming have often been described, but since one of the most interesting traces of their life is to be found in fields that they tilled, it will be well to give a brief account of what an English settlement looked like. There was a cluster of huts, surrounded by the arable fields; these were divided into strips, and each man's holding was a number of strips, dotted about here and there so that no one should have all the best or poorest land. Sometimes there were three fields, and one would be sown in October with wheat or rye, a second in

March with barley or oats, while the third would be left fallow to recover from two years of corn-bearing. More often there were two fields only, left fallow in alternate years, the one under cultivation being sown half with winter corn and half with barley or oats. There was almost always a stream, and near that an enclosed meadow, to provide winter food for such of the cattle as were not killed and salted down each year, for there were no turnips or cow-cake in those days. Surrounding the arable and meadow was common pasture, and beyond that lay the woodland, necessary for houses and hurdles and fuel, and a feeding-place for hundreds of swine.

This arrangement was not universal. In Kent, and to a smaller extent the London district, Essex and East Anglia, a man's holding seems to have been in a compact plot; but the rest of England as far as the Celtic fringe was cultivated on the open field system. In this system there had to be constant co-operation, and ploughing, like rights of pasture, was a matter of common concern. The plough was often of the heavy type, drawn sometimes by as many as eight oxen, and to avoid overmuch turning the furrows were long—usually our furlong, a word that explains itself. It is at this point that we reach the traces of Anglo-Saxon and medieval farming that we can still see. Where the land is flat they are not apparent; but the English also tilled the lower slopes of the hills, and the constant turning of the sod in one direction, together with the gradual downward drift of the surface soil, produced lynchets, in the manner described in Chapter II. Look about you for these strips and terraces on the hill-sides; they occur in very many parts of England, now under grass, and wherever you find them you have discovered former arable land, first ploughed perhaps by the earliest English.

In *Antiquity* in June 1929 an account was published of the

lynchet groups in Upper Wharfedale. It is of peculiar interest, for in this part of Yorkshire lynchets of the Celtic type and of the English type occur in close proximity, and it is possible to trace the replacement of one sort of farming by the other. The men of the Early Iron Age and their successors of Roman days avoided the boggy valleys and made their rectangular fields high up the slopes; they are still to be seen, and the hut circles and barrows associated with them, particularly near Grassington. When the English came they settled by the river. Near to it they fenced in their meadows; next came the long strips of arable, plainly marked on the ground; and farther up the slope, where once the Britons had tilled the soil, their supplanters pastured their cattle. This is not mere ingenious conjecture; the various 'finds' of Iron Age and Saxon date substantiate the inferences drawn from the face of the land; and the authors of the paper conclude, from this and a mass of other evidence, 'that the strip lynchets of the north of England preserve to us the actual common fields of the Anglian settlers of the seventh to ninth centuries.' What is more, Coniston is an excellent example of the village with two fields, Malham of the three-field system.

Different types of village and their distribution tell us something further about the English. In his fascinating study, *Domesday Book and Beyond*, Maitland emphasized forty years ago the difference between the scattered hamlet of the western uplands, mainly pastoral, and the compact village of the corn growers. Of this second type, it is remarkable how many avoid the old main roads and even the rivers. The reason is that the invading English, making their way up the rivers or along the Roman roads, turned aside when they wished to settle, so that they might not be disturbed by other bands following the same route. They sometimes called the

Roman roads *herepathas*, the army's paths, and they sought a home at a safe distance. Their proverbs and sayings show how these communities clung together for safety: 'Hapless is he who must needs live alone.' 'Often a man passes by the village afar off where he knows he has no certain friend.' 'There should be terror of the grey wolf.' The laws of Wihtred King of Kent and Ine of Wessex both include the provision that any stranger who leaves the road and fails to shout or blow a horn may be taken as a thief and hanged or ransomed. In Lincolnshire, especially, we can trace this avoidance of the highways. Between the Trent and the Ermine Street, as far south as Lincoln, there are dozens of villages carefully placed clear of both river and road; while if you take another Roman road, from Lincoln to Bourne, you will not pass through five villages in thirty-five miles, though there are plenty within easy reach on either side.

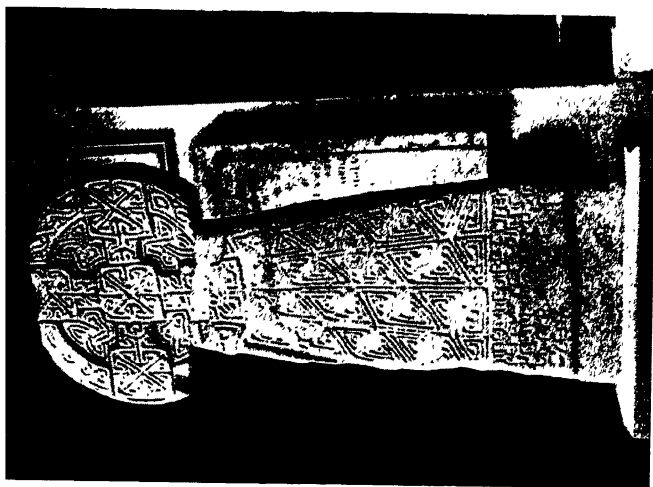
No farmer fights from choice once he has got his farm, but warfare was endemic in the Dark Ages, and long before the Vikings came there were campaigns against the Britons and struggles for mastery between the English tribes. These also have left their mark upon the land. Just as the Romans built Hadrian's Wall as a patrolled frontier for the north, so in Saxon times dykes or travelling earthworks were dug by kingdoms or lesser communities who wished to mark their boundaries. They consist of a bank and a ditch, and the ditch faces the people who are to be warned that they must come no farther. Their ends were protected by natural obstacles such as a river, marsh or forest, and where such obstacles occurred in their course their makers took advantage of them, ceasing their digging and beginning again beyond. Now that marshes have been drained and woodland cleared, some dykes seem to end abruptly for no reason, or to have purposeless



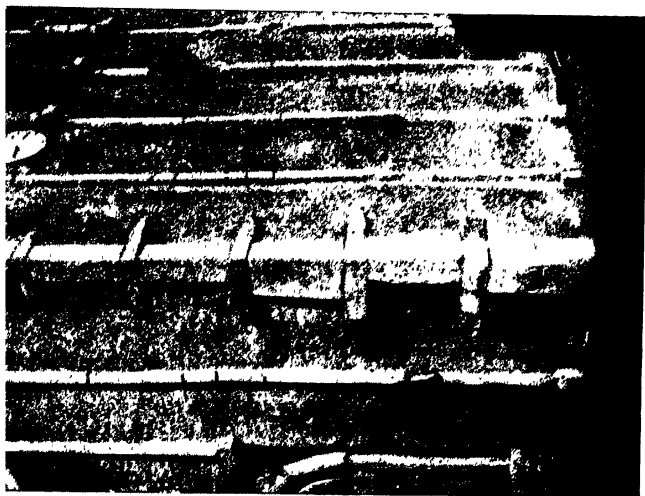
gaps, but this is to be explained by the presence in former days of a forest or a swamp.

There are four important systems of dykes in England. Wansdyke stretches for sixty miles from Inkpen in Berkshire to Maesbury in Somerset; it faces north, and protects the south-west against attacks from the Cotswolds and the Thames valley. Perhaps romanized Britons built it to stem the advancing English tide. The Devil's Dyke, the Fleam Ditch and the Bran Ditch, all in Cambridgeshire astride the Icknield Way, may have been constructed by the East Anglians to check pagan Mercia; while the Brent Ditch, between the last two, faces in the opposite direction and shows that at some time conditions were reversed. Offa's Dyke, the boundary between Mercia and Wales, is the most remarkable of all. Sir Cyril Fox, who has surveyed it, considers that it was designed by one man of military and engineering genius, and its course settled by negotiation; thus, where the River Wye is tidal both banks were left in the hands of the Welsh, with control of the salmon fishery, except that at Tutshill the Dyke goes down to the river-bank, so that Offa might hold the crossing of the Roman road from Gloucester to Caerwent. Last is the group of Grim's ditches, at Pinner in Middlesex and in the Chilterns, which defines the frontier between the London Basin and Saxon settlements along the Icknield Way, and suggests that London was not simply deserted or laid waste when Roman rule ceased.

With the pagan Saxons we come to the last of the barrows, but they are not very numerous. You can see two of the largest at Asthall in Oxfordshire and Taplow in Buckinghamshire, but most are small, like a group in Greenwich Park. As a rule they buried in flat cemeteries like ours, some of which may have had small barrows now destroyed by the



2. LLANTWIT MAJOR, GLAMORGANSHIRE.  
WHEEL-HEAD CROSS



1. EARL'S BARTON, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.  
DETAIL OF SAXON TOWER



plough. They also made use of earlier barrows; they were not the first to do so—nor the last, for the latest recorded secondary interment was in 1731, that of a horse.

At Greensted in Essex there is a little church with nave walls of split tree-trunks. To me it is not simply a village church, but a memorial to the whole Saxon people, whose very word for build was *getimbrian*. There must once have been many like it, but all the rest have gone the way of the wooden houses. However, the connection with Rome through St. Augustine brought masons over from Europe, and stone churches or parts of churches survive in many districts of England. Their names appear in the Appendix, and in Chapter VII something is said about their plan. In style they have the round-headed arches, doors and windows so common in the Norman period, but otherwise they are quite individual. Their walls were rarely more than three feet thick, while Norman walls were rarely less. They were built of rubble, and the squared ashlar and careful finish of the Church of St. Lawrence, Bradford-on-Avon, are exceptional. There were often no corner-stones, but occasionally you see large, roughly squared quoins, and in the tenth century some effort was made at ornament by the use of long-and-short work. You can see this in the illustration of the tower of Earls Barton Church (Plate 8, Fig. 1), and also the pilaster strips, another tenth-century device for relieving the blankness of the wall. Saxon windows are generally unmistakable. Some have a double splay; a number have baluster shafts as in the illustration; others, of two lights, are divided by a column set back in the thickness of the wall; others again are triangular headed, and so are a few doors. One reads that the pilaster strips and turned balusters were fashions brought

from abroad; but wherever they originated they reflect a training in carpentry, and the rather niggling and insignificant mouldings of the capitals show a hand more used to wood-work than to carving in stone.

But there is another story to tell. Though our Saxon churches are inferior to similar work on the Continent, some of the crosses and cross-shafts are noble and vigorous works of art. The earliest and best are found in Northumbria. We are not concerned with the controversy whether these date from the end of the seventh century or the middle of the eighth; the fact remains that there is nothing of either century to compare with them in the rest of Europe. They are widely scattered, but if you would study at your leisure their quaint birds and beasts playing hide and seek among vine-scrolls, and enjoy to the full the variety of the knot-work and masterly skill of design, buy or borrow a copy of W. G. Collingwood's *Northumbrian Crosses of the pre-Norman age*. Unless you also are a Northumbrian you will be astonished at the mass and quality of the work, and until you have seen the crosses themselves you will not rest content.

The stone crosses were not the only glory of northern England. It had sheltered the learning of Bede and Alcuin, the poetry of Caedmon and the Vision of the Rood, the exquisite beauty of the Lindisfarne Gospels. But the great age of Northumbria was coming to an end, and on November 1, 866, York was taken by the Vikings.

What manner of men were these, who descended on England like birds of prey? Their sagas and the stories told about them are thick with the smell of blood, yet they settled down peaceably enough by the side of the English. They were wanderers, adventurers, pirates born; they plundered as far

as the Straits of Gibraltar, sailed round the North Cape into the White Sea and set up a kingdom in Russia, took service with the Emperor at Constantinople, crossed the Atlantic in their open boats. They were traders too, exporting furs and fish; tamers of horses like Trojan Hector; skilful ship-builders and metal-workers; and farmers for part of the year. And yet, in spite of all their daring and energy, their proverbs lay stress on the need for caution and cunning: 'Praise no day till evening, no wife until she is buried, no sword until tested, no maid until given in marriage, no ice until crossed, no ale until it has been drunk.'

They came to England by two routes, the Danes across the North Sea and along the Channel, the Norwegians round Scotland to Ireland and the Isle of Man, where they set up kingdoms, and thence to Cumberland, Westmorland, Lancashire, the Wirral peninsula, and south Wales. Their raids began about 790. Sixty years later they wintered in Thanet, and then followed a generation of wars, the conquest of the Danelaw and the struggle with Alfred. His successors united England once more, but another great invasion laid the country at the feet of Cnut, to become for twenty years part of a Scandinavian empire. And William the Conqueror himself was the ruler of a Viking colony, a 'continental Danelaw' founded some dozen years after Alfred the Great died.

The success of the Vikings was due, apart from their splendid weapons and their military skill, to surprise and mobility. Arriving in ships of light draught they sailed up the rivers without fear of grounding, landed, seized horses, and galloped off merrily on their robbers' errand; they were here and they were gone, booty and all, before any resistance could be raised, and we can imagine an English farmer scratching his head and saying something like 'That's Northmen,

that was'. If a district became too hot for them they moved elsewhere—not merely from shire to shire, but from England to France if need be, till they found a spot where the ruler's arm was not so long, and the people were less familiar with their tactics. In England, after 850, their real object was not plunder but a settlement, and the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* tells in some detail the story of their campaigns. When they were hard pressed they dug themselves a camp, and Alfred, ever ready to learn, had earthen and stockaded *burhs* made, to serve as centres of resistance when his army was elsewhere. His son and daughter, Edward the Elder and Ethelfleda, who between them recovered the Danelaw as far as the Humber, consolidated every step of their advance by building a similar stronghold. There is singularly little to show for all this fighting and digging. At Wallingford in Berkshire, Burpham in Sussex, Wareham in Dorset, and Lydford in Devon you can still see the ramparts of Alfred's *burhs*. At Wallingford and Lydford remains of Norman castles lie within their walls, while those of Wareham were strengthened during the Civil War, when it was sacked both by royalists and parliamentarians. Of the *burhs* founded by Edward the Elder and Ethelfleda, only Witham in Essex and Eddisbury in Cheshire retain their fortifications; while of the Danes' own camps there is a similar scanty remnant: traces of a rampart at Shoebury in Essex, a rectangular enclosure at Tempsford in Bedfordshire, and a larger camp at Willington in the same county. This last, however, if it has been rightly interpreted, is the most interesting of all. It is said to be a 'water-burh', a harbour with a channel dug from the River Ouse, capable of holding twenty-five vessels and accommodated with two slips into which a ship could be hauled for repairs.

Though the Danish invasions have left small traces on the

ground, they affected the organization of our shires. If you consider the large square area bounded on the north and south by the Humber and the Thames and on the east and west by East Anglia and Wales, every county save Rutland and Middlesex is named after its county town. South of the Thames no county is named after its county town. The reason is that in the south the shires came first; they were kingdoms, like Kent and Sussex, or tribal divisions such as Wiltshire. But in the midlands the towns were all-important; they were the administrative and sometimes the physical centres of their shires, and their pre-eminence is largely of military origin. The main strongholds of the Danes were Lincoln, Nottingham, Derby, Leicester and Stamford, and all save the last are county towns; while among the *burhs* of Edward and Ethelfleda are Chester, Stafford, Warwick, Worcester, Hertford, Bedford and Buckingham.

It would be surprising if a virile people like the Vikings had had no influence on English art other than that of destruction. We can trace to them the styles of stone carving known as *Jellinge* and *Ringerike* after two places in Scandinavia. The former brought to our shores a new beast, different from those which clambered about in the Anglian vine-scrolls, a creature with a double outline, spiral joints, back-bent head and a flap to its nose; you can see one, with all these features, on a broken grave-slab at Levisham in Yorkshire. The *Ringerike* style is harder to describe; it is marked by its treatment of leaf ornament; the leaves resemble long fingers or tongues with a small curl at the end, and are often collected loosely together in a bundle or bouquet. More important than either of these is the introduction of wheel-head crosses. They seem to have spread from the Isle of Man by three routes: to Cumberland and across Yorkshire; to Chester and from there



south-east; to south Wales and Cornwall. One of them is illustrated in Plate 8, Fig. 2. This has the added interest that it was set up by a Welsh King who sought the protection of Alfred.

It seems a far cry from the makers of the wheel-head crosses to the bloodthirsty ravagers whose onslaughts brought a new petition into the Litany: 'From the fury of the Northmen, Good Lord deliver us.' Yet the contrast reflects their mixed nature; they were like one of their number, Helgi the Lean, 'who prayed to Christ when he was at home, but to Thor when he was at sea or in a tight place.' On the whole they did England as much good as harm. They brought with them a strong sense of personal freedom, and the idea, new to the Saxons, that crime was disgraceful and not a matter to be settled by the mere payment of a fine. In material things they had a very high standard of civilization, and in weapons, metalwork and shipbuilding they were more advanced than most of the peoples whose countries they visited. They lived more intensely than any of their contemporaries, and contact with such vital folk must have braced and invigorated the English, as a sword is toughened in the fire and sharpened on the stone.

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## FURTHER READING

- The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*  
*Bede's Ecclesiastical History*  
*Anglo-Saxon Poetry*  
*The Olaf Sagas*  
*Sagas of the Norse Kings*
- } Dent, Everyman's Library, 2s. each.
- The Song of Beowulf* (Dent, the King's Treasuries, 1s.).

These put you directly in touch with the events and spirit of the time.

- KENDRICK and HAWKES  
*Historical Geography*  
 E. C. CURWEN, *Air Photography*  
 M. E. CUNNINGTON  
*The County Archaeologies*
- } op. cit.
- The British Museum, *Guide to Anglo-Saxon Antiquities* (latest edition, 2s. 6d.).
- London Museum Catalogues: *London and the Saxons* (1935, 1s. 6d.) and *London and the Vikings* (1927, 1s.), by R. E. M. WHEELER, together form an excellent introduction to the period.
- Ordnance Survey *Map of Britain in the Dark Ages*, South Sheet (1935) covers the period A.D. 410-871.
- R. H. HODGKIN, *A History of the Anglo-Saxons* (2 vols., Oxford, 1935, 30s.) goes up to the death of Alfred; sequel to come.
- A. W. CLAPHAM, *English Romanesque Architecture before the Conquest* (Oxford, 1930, 30s.) deals with crosses and sculpture as well as architecture.
- W. G. COLLINGWOOD, *Northumbrian Crosses of the Pre-Norman Age* (Faber and Gwyer, 1927, 30s.; now out of print: I bought my copy cheaply as a remainder).
- COLLINGWOOD and MYRES, op. cit.
- G. K. CHESTERTON's *Ballad of the White Horse* and the story *The Joyous Venture* in KIPLING's *Puck of Pook's Hill* catch the spirit of the period.

V

A NOTE ON THE ORDNANCE MAP

‘Where are you going to, my pretty maid?’

IN the last four chapters I have tried to describe the scenery and the most ancient things that you will come across on your holiday. Now I am going for a holiday myself. It is Christmas Day, and I am sitting in front of the fire with slippers on my feet; but I have most of the sheets of the half-inch Ordnance Map by me, and the names on them shall carry me not only through the twenty years of my own wanderings, but back to the remote days when stream and hill and village were distinguished from airy nothing—christened, I would have said, but many of their names were first spoken by the lips of heathen men, and some before Jesus Christ was born.

We do not know how old our oldest names are, but we can reach back as far as the Iron Age, before the Romans came. The men of the Iron Age were the Celts. There were two groups of them: the Britons who bequeathed a language to Wales and Cornwall, and the Gaels of Ireland and Scotland. It has been thought that the Gaels came first to Britain, and that then the Britons drove them out, but few traces of Gaelic survive in English names, and perhaps, after all, the Gaels went straight to Ireland from France or Spain.

In England, as distinct from Wales and Cornwall, the speech of the Britons has clung most tenaciously to natural features, to rivers above all. You will remember the reply of the Rat in ‘The Wind in the Willows’ when the innocent Mole asked, ‘So this is a river?’ ‘This is *the* river,’ he said, and so

said the Ancient Britons. Axe, Exe, Usk and Esk are simply forms of the British *isca* = water, and Avon and Ouse are akin to Welsh and Irish words with the same meaning. At times they were more explicit: Derwent is the oak stream, and Dove the black one. Other legacies from these early days are the familiar combes and tors of the south-west; while the Old Celtic *barro*, meaning top, gave us Barr Beacon in Staffordshire, and *cet* = wood is found in Chetwode in Buckinghamshire and Culcheth in Lancashire. Chetwode is an instance of duplication, for the Saxons added *wodu* to *cet* and so we have the woody wood. So many British names survive in England that the Angles and Saxons cannot have slaughtered or driven out all the Britons after the Roman legions were withdrawn. There is more than negative proof of this: the English word for the Britons was *Wealas*, Welsh, foreigners; and *Wealas* persists, not only in Wales and Cornwall, but in some of the numerous Waltons and Walcots, from Surrey to Lancashire, where settlements of Britons must often have lingered.<sup>1</sup> Even more convincing is the much later Scandinavian name of Bretby in Derbyshire, meaning the village of the Britons, a name that cannot have been coined until nearly five hundred years after the Imperial eagles had flown.

The Romans occupied Britain for some four centuries, yet the names they gave to their towns have been supplanted. We all know that *castra* means a camp, and can recognize Winchester, Gloucester, Doncaster, Caistor, and Wroxeter as Roman stations; but to the romanized Britons these were Venta Belgarum, Glevum, Danum, Venta Icenorum, and

<sup>1</sup> Caution! Sometimes Walton means *weald-tun*, town in the wold, or *weall-tun*, walled town; while *wealh* came to mean serf in Old English, and Walcot may just be serf's cottage.

Viroconium, and the present names all derive from the Old English *ceaster*, a word borrowed from Latin. There are so many of these names ending in *-chester* and so forth that the English must have given them to almost any site on which fortifications were found, sometimes, no doubt, to places strengthened before the Romans came, for there were no earnest antiquarians in those days. There are a few other names of Latin origin. We still have the Fosse Way, and the Saxons borrowed *straet*, meaning a made road, from *via strata*, giving us Stratford, Streatham, and Stretton on the Fosse; while Eccles and its compounds have come from the Latin *ecclesia*.

The conquering English, who left us so little to see in the way of local habitation, have sprinkled their names on the map with a most generous hand. Think of all the places you know which end in:

- ing* or -*ings*, referring to a family or tribe.
- ton*, an enclosure, then village, then town.
- ham*, a hamlet (may be confused with *hamm*, a meadow).
- sted*, -*stead*, -*stock*, or -*stoke*, a place.
- worth* or -*worthy*, an enclosure.
- ley*, a clearing or open country.
- hurst* or -*holt*, a wood.
- borough*, -*burgh*, or -*bury*, either a fortified place (from *burh*) or a hill (from *beorg*)

All these and more are English, and so are the scores of villages called after trees, such as Acton (*ac* = oak), Ashton, Aldreth, Appledore, Berkeley (birch), Boxford, Brierley Hill, and Buckhurst (beech), to go no farther in the alphabet. These and other descriptive names like Bradford and Weston tell us no more about the English than the fact that your house was called *Oakleigh* or *Kia-ora* would tell about you.

However, traces of their religion remain despite the conversion to Christianity. Wednesbury, where I was born, and Wednesfield close by, commemorate the god Woden, and the Wansdyke was sacred to him. Tuesley in Surrey and Thundersley<sup>1</sup> in Essex remind us of two other deities made familiar by the days of the week, while Harrow and its compounds were once sites of heathen temples (*hearth*).

Our vocabulary of the country-side was next enriched by the Vikings. Alfred became king in 871, and it was about that time, after twenty years of 'wintering' in various parts of England, that they began to settle in large numbers. The eastern counties were seized by the Danes, and when in 878 Alfred divided the land with Guthrum, the boundary was the Watling Street from London to Chester. Eighty years later he and his successors had reconquered all the country, but during this time Danish names had spread thickly. Meanwhile the Norwegians had sailed down the west coast of Scotland and set up kingdoms in the Hebrides, at Dublin and elsewhere in Ireland, and in the Isle of Man, and from about 900 northern men had been settling in Cumberland and Westmorland, Lancashire, Cheshire, and even Glamorgan. Think once more of the names you know, and you will have some idea of the magnitude of these invasions. The commonest end in *-by*, a township, which has given us our by-laws, but here is a list of others, many of them familiar to any holiday-maker in the Lake District:

- thorpe*, a settlement, generally from an older village, or an outlying farm.
- toft*, a homestead, or a field near one.
- thwaite*, a clearing.

<sup>1</sup> The many names like Thurstan and Thoresby come from a common Danish personal name, not from that of the god Thor.

- garth*, an enclosure.
- fell* or -*how*, a hill.
- breck*, a slope or hill.
- gill*, a narrow valley, or ravine.
- slack*, a shallow valley.
- scarth*, a pass.
- gate*, a road or passage.
- beck*, a stream.
- ness*, a promontory. (May be Old English also.)
- holm*, -*scar*, or -*skerry*, an island.

Most of these are common to all the Scandinavian settlements, but -*thorpe* is Danish, while -*gill*, -*slack*, and -*breck* and villages like Normanton and Normanby are distinctively Norwegian.

It is interesting to compare the names on opposite sides of the Watling Street. In the valley of the Wreak, in the eight miles west of Melton Mowbray, you come to Sysonby, Kirby Bellars, Ashfordby, Frisby, Hoby, Rotherby, Brooksby and Rearsby; whereas dotted around Oxford are the English Marston, Headington, Horsepath, Cowley, Iffley, Hinksey, Wytham and Wolvercote. But wherever you live, you have only to spread your local map as a magic carpet, and you can roam the centuries in your arm-chair.

Of course, the Normans stamped a few names on the country-side that they appropriated, as at Compton Valence and Mavesyn (Malvoisin) Ridware; but some of the greatest families are scarcely to be traced in this way, and there is only one place called after Mowbray, or Bigod, or Bohun. Sometimes the English turned the tables on their conquerors, and the lordly Stoke Courcy, Stoke Gomer and Randolf Levington have been reduced by a humorous and insular peasantry to Stogursey, Stogumber and Randalinton, while even the best people have to rhyme Cholmondeley with glumly. The feudal network of landholding is to be seen in

Kings Ripton and Abbots Ripton, Princes Risborough and Monks Risborough, Earls Barton, Bishop Auckland, Canons Ashby, Temple Balsall and Nuneaton, while Weedon Beck and Tooting Bec bear witness to the former lordship of the famous Abbey of Bec in Normandy. Let it be said that the Normans did appreciate the beauty of England. The English and Danes had a shrewd eye for the lie of the land and what would grow on it, but they were true farmers and rarely expressed approval. It was left for the Normans to stand godfather to Beaulieu and Belvoir, Belchamp and even Beaudesert, the lovely wilderness.

What a journey! but now I am sitting in front of the fire again, with my slippers on, and it is only Boxing Day. You are your own master when you go visiting and collecting names. You can dine *table d'hôte* or *à la carte* as you prefer, though oddly enough in maps *table d'hôte* is *à la carte*. The volumes of the English Place-name Society, now being published county by county, will tell you everything that is known; or you can puzzle out for yourself the names whose sound attracts you. Plumstead and Cowfold and Ducklington are comforting and straightforward. Not so Haltwhistle! It has a little railway station, and when first I visited Hadrian's Wall, I thought that a warning to engine drivers had been made permanent here; it was a rude shock to discover that the old English *heafod*, head or hill, and *twisla*, the fork of a river, had combined in an ingenious deception.

There is no end to the ways in which you can specialize in names. You can collect the gentle ones like St. Just in Roseland, Blandford St. Mary or Southease; the dark, cold names of the north, such as Warcop and Heckmondwike; the animal, the vegetable, or the merely quaint. There are



always surprises. Here are two. Bettws-y-coed looks as Welsh as Welsh can be, and *coed* is the Welsh for wood. But Bettws is only the English *bed-hus* or prayer-house transformed, and so in the Welsh wood an English chapel lies hid. The other surprise concerns the Isle of Axeholme. This piece of land must once have seemed the wettest in the world. It used to be Haxeyholm, and I suppose this is what happened: the Angles saw a great deal of water and called it Haxeý, Hak's island, after one of their number; the Danes, when it was their bid, doubled with *holm*. The place had now become Hak's insular island, but some more modern gentleman, who seems to have lost an aitch in this damp and asthmatic spot, fearing that its nature was not fully understood, called it the Isle of Axeholme to make sure. Perhaps he was wise, for it has since been drained. However, unless you wish, there is no need for you to be as persistent as the dwellers in Axeholme. You can take your pleasure as far abroad as you will; and when you are tired or hungry, you can stop.

#### FURTHER READING

*Historical Geography*, op. cit.

*Introduction to the Survey of English Place-Names* (ed. MAWER and STENTON, Cambridge, 1933, 12s. 6d.).

*Chief Elements in English Place-Names* (ed. MAWER, Cambridge, 1930, 5s. 6d.).

E. EKWALL, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names* (Oxford, 1936, 15s.).

VI

THE PARISH CHURCH—SITUATION AND  
MATERIALS

‘I am always very well pleased with a Country Sunday.’

ADDISON.

MY first clear recollections of a church are of Sutton Coldfield, not far from Birmingham, where I used to sit behind the choir and hear *decani* and *cantoris* sing alternate verses of the Psalms, and where I learned with pride to make the proper responses in the Litany without using my prayer-book. But apart from the services, what I best remember are the dignified tower on the hill and the warm red sandstone of which the church is built—its situation and materials.

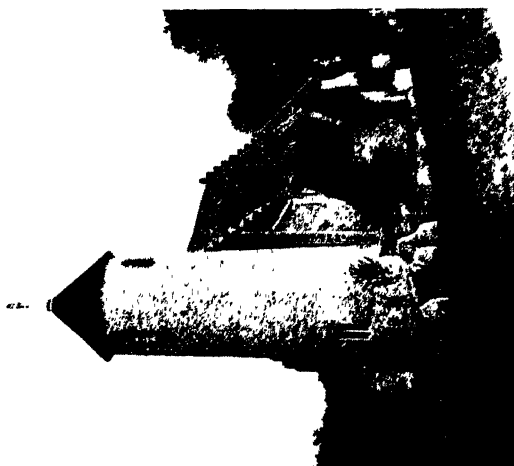
Some ten years later I was introduced to the architectural styles, and put aside the postcards of general views of churches that I had collected, because I now thought them of no scientific or detailed interest; and for a long while I busied myself with learning to recognize when this and that pillar or window had been built, a process which brought me great delight, but not a little self-complacency. Then at last, when I had won a moderate skill in judging details, it dawned on me that a church is much more than the sum of its parts, and that this ‘more’ is the changing but unbroken tradition of a community of worshippers, and is expressed as truly in the setting and substance of a building as in its structure and ornament. In other words, every church, above and beyond the *architectural* styles that it reveals, has a style or personality of its own.

The builders of our parish churches have left us a feast of beauty. It is a beauty not of magnificence, though to me

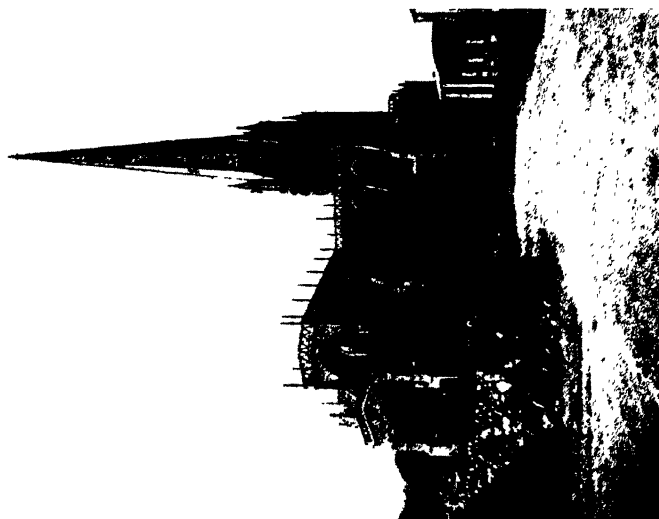
Boston 'Stump' is magnificent; not merely of strength or grace, ornament or delicacy; but beauty transcending all these, a perfect seemliness, born of sympathy with the spirit of place. Such charm is at once so simple and subtle that it is difficult to describe; if you would try to estimate it, stand on a hill with a wide prospect about you and imagine the villages and hamlets without their churches; then you will see how these belong to the landscape, and how in a sense the landscape belongs to them. Like the roads, they give it meaning and purpose; and their spires, which as you stood beneath them pointed to the stars, seem now to draw heaven down to earth.

Along with this peculiar appropriateness to surroundings goes the widest local diversity. Bawburgh, near Norwich, has a round tower of Norman date and a crow's-foot brick gable built some four centuries afterwards, yet the church might have grown, just as it is, out of the ground. (Plate 9, Fig. 1). Ferry Hinksey, a long mile from Oxford, is so peaceful amid its trees that I have seen a great white owl sitting there in an afternoon of high summer. These are churches rather apart, but most preside over their villages, either in their midst, like the handsome Tideswell in Derbyshire, or at the end of the village street, as at Montacute in Somerset. Charminster Church among the houses resembles a hen surrounded by her chicks (Plate 10, Fig. 1); Ashby Magna in Leicestershire stands like a sentinel; and if you look across the water up the hill to the church at Finchingfield, you see a picture of repose and graceful disposition of varied buildings such as Vermeer would have loved to paint.

In towns the churches as it were become urban without taking on the squalor or the showiness that infect town life. Many stand on hills, and remind us that easy accessibility



1. BAWBURGH, NORFOLK



2. ST. MARY REDCLIFFE, BRISTOL



1. CHARMINSTER, DORSET

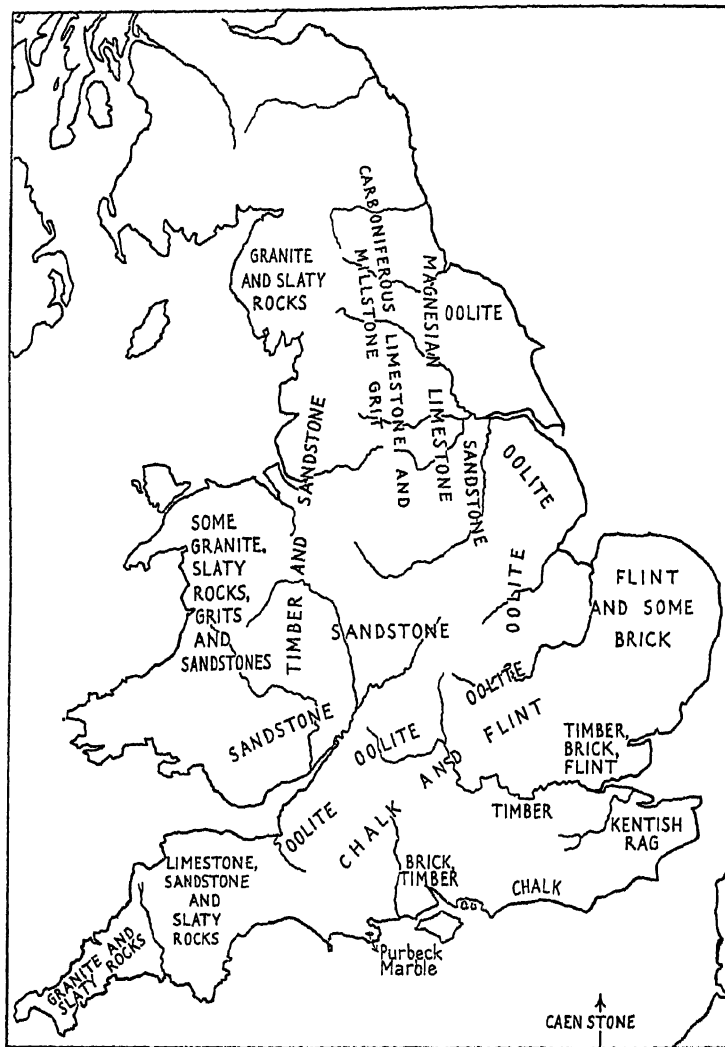


2. FINCHINGFIELD, ESSEX

was once no boon; from Barr Beacon, our local landmark, you can look across the Black Country and see above the factories and smoke the steeples of St. Matthew at Walsall and St. Bartholomew at Wednesbury, each built 'at the top of the town'. St. Matthew's steps lead down to Walsall market, and at Richmond, Cirencester, and many another place the church dominates the market square. Where towns have grown on level ground, a church with its tower or spire is the natural focus and crown, and at Grantham, for instance, is queen of the whole country-side; while St. Mary Redcliffe at Bristol (Plate 9, Fig. 2) rises in its beauty above trucks of coal and the shipping in the river.

The responsiveness of church-builders to scene and circumstance is very striking in the flattest and in the ruggedest parts. Many of our most splendid churches are in East Anglia and Lincolnshire. This is not due simply to the wealth from wool of the one district or the admirable building-stone of the other; the cause is that sense of fitness which made it clear that amid the fens and the plains a mighty building was a worthy tribute to God's glory and a thank-offering for the fruits of the earth. But when we leave the lowlands and the rolling hills there are no more churches like those of Cawston and Louth, or Wrington in the Mendips, and instead we find modest and simple buildings that invite no comparison with the majesty of the mountains.

This feeling of medieval builders for what was in keeping with their surroundings was due not only to instinctive taste but to the use of local materials. In days when transport of bulky substances was very troublesome, this was a necessity as much as a virtue; still, it is man's prerogative to make a virtue of necessity, and this the old builders did. They had



MAP OF BUILDING MATERIALS

at their command stone of varying qualities, flint, wood, and clay for bricks, and wherever you spend your holiday you will find a local idiom in building, much as you do in dialect.

The best building-stone is limestone, and of limestones the most beautiful and serviceable is the oolite which stretches north-east across England from Dorset to the North Riding of Yorkshire, touching on its way Somerset, Wiltshire, Gloucestershire, Berkshire, Oxfordshire, Warwickshire, Northamptonshire, Bedfordshire, Leicestershire, Rutland, Nottinghamshire and Lincoln. The waterways of the Fens and the Wash made it possible to send barges of stone into Cambridge, Huntingdon and west Norfolk, so in all nearly half the counties of England have some old churches built of oolite. The course of the Jurassic ridge may be traced across the country by the stone spires which crown it—though Somerset is individual in its preference for towers of excellent proportion—and in the beauty and delicacy of the stone carving within the churches. In parts the limestone is impregnated with iron, and the warm brown of many buildings in Oxfordshire and Northamptonshire is due to this. In Derbyshire, Yorkshire and the north, Carboniferous limestone is worked; this often has a bluish tinge, and sheds an austere beauty in sunlight, but on a dull day it can look very cold. Last is the grey or greenish Kentish rag, which is durable but cannot be dressed.

Of the inferior building-stones the commonest and most attractive is sandstone. It is used from Devon to Northumberland, and is characteristic of Staffordshire, Warwickshire and all the west midland counties. But sandstone is deceptive; it weathers easily, and external mouldings and ornament all too soon crumble and flake away, leaving a building that looks romantic at a distance but diseased to a closer view. Yet



one would not forgo the use of the stone that gave such warmth of colour to Lichfield Cathedral and churches for miles around.

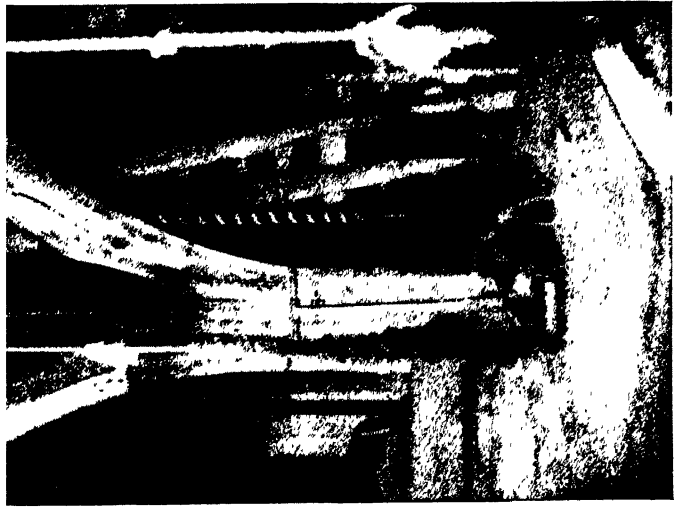
In the west there is less choice. In Wales and the Lake District slate is used. This will serve for the shell of a building as well as the roof, but defies the carver. The Welsh and Cornish granite has the same defect, but by a *tour de force* the granite walls of Launceston have been covered with rough sculpture.

In the south and east are the chalklands, but chalk is not generally a good building-stone. What an opportunity for the architect if it were! A hard chalk called Clunch is worked at Totternhoe near Dunstable, and Beer in Devon, and the latter stone has worn well and is susceptible of beautiful carving, as at Exeter Cathedral and Ottery St. Mary. But the main material obtained from the chalk is flint; it is used for ordinary walling everywhere from Dorset to Norfolk, and in East Anglia builders have made of their intractable material the flushwork that gives their churches such an individual appearance. Flushwork is an ornamenting of the surfaces of walls and buttresses in panels; the fine limestone of Caen was brought over by sea, and economically carved into thin skeletons of flat tracery, in which were inserted split flints, with the black surfaces outwards. Flushwork is highly decorative, but like all mere ornament needs restraint or it becomes wearisome. Another result of the absence of building-stone in East Anglia is the hundred and fifty round towers of Norfolk and Suffolk, for a round tower needs no quoins and can be built without squared stones (see Plate 9). In the region of round towers some roofs, like those of Acle and Barsham, are thatched with reeds from the broads.

In combination with flint, or apart from flint, brick and



1. GREAT BADDOW, ESSEX



2. WEST HANNINGFIELD, ESSEX. INSIDE



timber were largely employed, and Essex, more than any other county, is their home. Ten churches were built completely of brick—at Chignal Smealy, even the font. There are many fine brick towers, as at Ingatestone, Fryerning and Sandon, window tracery and all; and the porches of Sandon and Feering, the clerestory at Great Baddow and the nave arcade at St. Osyth show the beautiful and dignified results that can be achieved with this homely material. All this work is mainly of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but in dozens of churches Roman tiles were used amid the flint rubble, often to strengthen corners as at Ongar. The Saxons originally built mainly of wood, and mention has been made in an earlier chapter of the nave at Greensted, but most of the woodwork that survives is, like the brick, of the Perpendicular period. In the fifteenth century parishes were anxious to possess peals of bells, and in the forest lands of Essex many timber belfries were set up. Sometimes, as at Doddinghurst and Laindon, they rise from a framework in the nave, while at Blackmore and Navestock the whole tower is of wood, with weather-boarded sides and a shingled spire. These timber towers and spires are the most characteristic feature of the churches between London and Chelmsford, which are peculiarly lovable and domestic. Naturally wooden porches are common, like those of Margaretting or Stondon Massey, while at Theydon Garnon the nave arcade is of wood, though you might not guess unless you rapped your knuckles on a pillar.

All these examples come from Essex, a county of great interest and charm that has been called dull by those without eyes to see, but brick and timber are used in all the Home counties, in Hampshire, and along the Welsh border; and in this last district there are a few churches with the attractive black and white half-timber work so often seen in the houses.

A word may be added about the materials employed in church fittings and furniture. Most striking, perhaps, is the dark Purbeck marble, full of fossils, so much used in the thirteenth century to give diversity to clusters of slender columns. It was quarried near the Dorset coast and, as transport by sea was easy, found its way all round England, chiefly to cathedrals or great churches such as Boxgrove Priory. It is a beautiful stone, but sometimes takes on a greasy or soapy look, and I think that the duller slate shafts which have replaced those of Purbeck marble in parts of Worcester Cathedral are more in keeping with the severity of Early English work. In parts of Kent and Sussex, greenish-grey Bethersden marble, also highly fossilized, is used instead of the Purbeck stone. Fonts were made in a variety of materials: some are of Purbeck marble, like that at Littleton in Hampshire; seven are of black marble from Tournai; several in East Anglia are of Caen stone; there are twenty-nine of lead, that at Childrey in Berkshire ornamented with figures of bishops; and a few are cased in wood. Wood is of course widely used for font-covers, pews and stalls, pulpits, screens, roofs and doors. These last, the humblest of fittings, are themselves worth a study, both for their construction and in some cases elaborate ornament, their fastenings, and the masterpieces of scrolled iron hinges like those at Eaton Bray in Bedfordshire.

And so out into the churchyard again, where we shall be lucky if we do not encounter tomb-stones of Italian marble and polished granite. But the tide is on the turn; a campaign is afoot to insist on simple memorials of native stone, relying for their beauty on good proportions and noble lettering; the quiet perfection of our parish churches will one day vanquish even those who think by costly and exotic monuments to do honour to their dead.

## FURTHER READING

The following list will serve for Chapters VI, VII, and VIII.

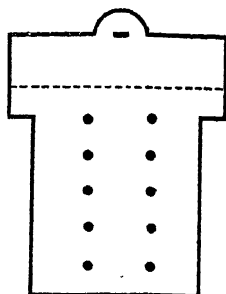
- E. A. GREENING LAMBORN, *The English Parish Church* (Oxford, 1929, 3s. 6d.).
- J. C. COX, *The English Parish Church* (Batsford, out of print, but still occasionally to be had second-hand).
- J. C. COX and C. BRADLEY FORD, *The Parish Churches of England* (Batsford, 7s. 6d.). This is a compression and modernization of the previous volume, but does not supersede it.
- A. R. POWYS, *The English Parish Church* (Longmans, 1930, 3s. 6d.).
- A. HAMILTON THOMPSON, *The Historical Growth of the English Parish Church* and *The Ground Plan of the English Parish Church* (Cambridge Manuals, 3s. each).
- J. A. HOWE, *The Geology of Building Stones* (Arnold, 8s. 6d.).
- J. C. COX, *English Church Fittings and Furniture* (Batsford, re-issue, 12s. 6d.).
- J. S. M. WARD, *Brasses* (Cambridge Manuals, 2s. 6d.).
- E. TYRRELL-GREEN, *Parish Church Architecture* (S.P.C.K. 8s. 6d.). *Notes on Churches and Abbeys* and *Notes on Parish Churches* (S.P.C.K. a few pence each).
- New Churches Illustrated* (The Incorporated Church Building Society, 1936, 3s. 6d.). This contains 200 photographs of 52 churches built since 1926 and a plan of each church.



i. The earliest Church



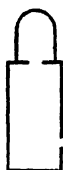
ii. The Celtic type with small square-ended chancel



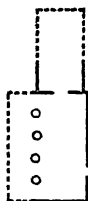
iii. The Basilican type

*Figures i, ii and iii are not drawn to the same scale*

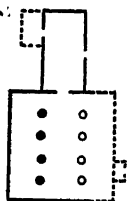
## The Growth of a Typical Church



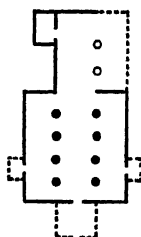
v. Original Norman Church built 1130



v. As altered about 1230



vi. As altered about 1330



vii. As altered about 1430

### Table of Changes.

- 1230 Chancel extended, with square end and priest's door. North Aisle added.
- 1330 Vestry built to Chancel. South Aisle added, with porch.
- 1430 South Chapel added to Chancel. Chancel arch remodelled and new rood-screen erected. Nave walls raised and clerestory built. North porch built. South porch pulled down and rebuilt with 2 storeys. West Tower added. Perpendicular windows inserted instead of lancets in north aisle and at east end.

## THE PLAN OF THE ENGLISH PARISH CHURCH

## VII

### THE PARISH CHURCH—ITS PLAN AND FITTINGS

'He allows of honest pastime, and thinks not the bones of the dead anything bruised, or the worse for it, though the country lasses dance in the churchyard after evensong.'

UNLESS the services are held in the open air, the essentials for a place of public worship are a room for the congregation and a focus for their attention. In Christian churches, up to the Reformation, the latter was the altar; in the earliest days this may have stood under a window at one end of a room of worshippers, but it was natural to add an inner room, and when that was done there was a church with nave and chancel. This is the type native to the British Isles (see Plans, Figs. I and II).

But Christianity first reached Britain from Rome, and some early churches were built on a plan which, even though it may not have been imitated from Roman public halls or basilicas, is still generally called basilican (see Plans, Fig. III). There was a large nave, with a semicircle or apse at one end where the priest officiated at the altar; to the west of this sanctuary a part of the nave was railed off to form the chancel. The nave was often too wide to be spanned by a single roof without supports, so pillars were erected, and the portions of the building to the north and south of these were our familiar aisles. Projecting beyond these aisles there were sometimes rudimentary wings or transepts.

The earliest Christian missionaries came to Britain during the Roman occupation; and even after the destruction of the



Roman Empire, St. Augustine, who landed in 597 to convert the heathen English, was sent expressly by Pope Gregory the Great. But the work of Augustine is relatively more famous than it deserves, and the most successful missionaries in England came from the British Isles themselves. When the English tribes conquered Britain they drove the natives to the western hills, and the Christian faith was banished from the plains. The Britons made no effort at the time to convert their persecutors, but missionary zeal, too strong to be denied, entered England by the back door. St. Patrick was a Welshman who in the thirty years ending in 460 converted Ireland; a hundred years later St. Columba reached western Scotland, and from Iona in 635 St. Aidan was sent to convert Northumbria at the request of its king. It is true that the *organization* of the English Church was due to the connexion with Rome, strengthened by the great Archbishop Theodore of Tarsus, but the *evangelization* of the country was mainly the work of the native missions. It is therefore not surprising to find that in all England there are traces of only some half-dozen churches of the basilican type (the most complete are at Brixworth in Northamptonshire and Wing in Buckinghamshire) while there are remains of over 400 of the simple kind with nave and chancel.<sup>1</sup>

The basilicas, though few, did influence building, especially when larger churches were needed. The Normans built far and wide, and everywhere they introduced aisles and apses; the latter never became popular, and English insularity soon reverted to the square-ended chancel, but the aisles provided space for bigger congregations and an avenue for processions round the church. Another method of enlargement was to

<sup>1</sup> Most of these are much later than the basilican churches, but they show the persistence of the simpler native plan.

build transepts, the idea of which may have come from the small wings of the ancient basilica or from the building of porches on both sides of the nave; where there were transepts it was natural to erect a central tower, and cruciform churches with central towers were built in the Norman period and ever afterwards.

Let us consider the gradual growth of an imaginary but typical church. It was set up by the Normans, and consisted of a nave and apsidal chancel (see Plans, Fig. IV). Some hundred years later an aisle was added—on the north side, so as not to destroy the graves, which were always to the south—and at the same time the chancel was lengthened, the sanctuary being farther to the east and room left for a choir where once the celebrant had stood. A priest's door was built, and the chancel was lighted by lancet windows, at the east end three of them standing side by side (see Plans, Fig. V).

A century later the village had grown, and not many years before the ravages of the Black Death a south aisle was needed; it would contain larger windows, beautiful not only with coloured glass, but by reason of their tracery of slender stone bars forming a geometrical pattern. The squared stonework of the old nave was used over again, and perhaps fragments of Norman carving are to be seen dotted about higgledy-piggledy in the new aisle wall. Medieval builders were no worshippers of the past and put its remains to their own uses. Besides, their past was nearer to them than it is to us; the artistic fashion had changed, and maybe some of them said 'Norman barbarity' as glibly as some of us say 'Victorian vulgarism'. The new door was pointed, not round-headed, and was protected from the weather by a graceful porch. North of the chancel a vestry was built, and there the treasures

of the church could be locked up; but it was a place of worship as well as security and business, and contained an altar, as the piscina still in the south wall proves (see Plans, Fig. VI).

Yet another hundred years, and the thriving wool-trade made possible the final and largest alterations. The walls of the nave were raised and rebuilt, a clerestory or upper row of windows was inserted to let in the light over the aisle roofs, and the chancel arch was remodelled. A wealthy merchant built a north porch, and his rival, not to be outdistanced in piety, thereupon rebuilt the south porch, but in two stages, with statues, canopies, and pinnacles richly carved, and a fireplace in the upper room. The local guild of clothworkers supplied the funds for a handsome chapel connecting south aisle and chancel, and to renew the roofs which were now of a lower pitch. The parishioners as a whole made themselves responsible for a western tower with a peal of bells. They also inserted larger windows of the new fashion instead of the lancets that had remained in the north aisle, and the rector replaced the three sisters at the end of the chancel by the largest window of all, with bold rectilinear tracery (see Plans, Fig. VII).

So the work went on. Love of God, combined with some personal ostentation and much local patriotism, led men to enlarge the churches and enrich them with carved screens, vestments and plate. Our twelfth-century building, like Bottom, has been 'translated'. Yet if we but pulled down the vestry and erected a north chapel to match that on the south the church would once more be in plan a simple rectangle, like the earliest church of all. This sometimes happened, and then there was nothing left to do, save to begin all over again; but the Reformation interrupted church-building, and the

shells of our parish churches remain much as the Middle Ages left them.

If some of the reformers had had their way, little besides shells would have been left. In Edward VI's reign Protector Somerset sent round a commission to destroy statues and stained-glass windows, and throughout the troubled times of the Reformation and the Civil War much wanton damage was done. Yet despite the iconoclastic fury of men like William Dowsing, who went about defacing the churches of Suffolk in the interests of pure religion, and despite the indifference and neglect of the eighteenth century, enough remains to show how splendid the furniture and fittings of our parish churches must once have been. The catalogue of objects of interest is a long one, and it does not seem adequate simply to make a tour of the church, describing each as it comes. They are therefore here divided into three main groups: those directly connected with the services; aids to worship; and the accommodation of the congregation; while a word is added about a variety of objects that are hard to classify.

In the Middle Ages the chief service was the mass, and the centre of devotion the altar. It was usually built of stone; and there was always a great slab on top, on which five crosses were cut, in the middle and at the corners. Fear of idolatry led during the Reformation to the destruction of these altars, and the consecrated slabs were often turned upside down and used as paving stones; wooden communion tables took the place of altars, and were a symbol of religious change. At the same time many of the screens that secluded the chancel were pulled down, and there was then nothing to prevent

dogs from committing a nuisance in the sanctuary, so in Elizabeth's day began the practice of enclosing the communion table with rails, which became more general in the time of Archbishop Laud. The 'high altar' was not the only one in a church; others stood in side chapels and at the east end of the aisles, and often a squint remains through which a priest celebrating mass at a side altar could see the celebrant at the altar in the chancel.

The former presence of an altar where none now exists is often shown by a piscina on the south side. A piscina is a drain where the communion vessels were washed; some are most gracefully carved, and in the thirteenth century a number of double piscinas were built, the second one being for the priest's ablutions (Plate 12, Fig. 1). Occasionally a piscina contains above the drain a shelf where the cruets could be set out before the service, and on the north side of the altar there is often a recess called an aumbry, a cupboard where chalice and paten and perhaps a few books could be secured. West of the piscina there may be stone seats, usually three in number and often graded in height, where the priest, deacon and sub-deacon would sit during the chanting of the Creed and Gloria. Some sedilia are very simple, as at Cholsey in Berkshire, but more often they were richly ornamented, and examples of the fourteenth century have canopies of great beauty. Another, but rare, feature of the sanctuary is the gospel lectern, a support on the north side from which the Gospel was read; a fine one survives at Chipping Warden in Northamptonshire, and on the bracket supporting it is carved a lifelike royal head, anxious and unhappy, perhaps a portrait of the unfortunate Richard II.

West of the sanctuary, but still within the chancel or east end of the church, is the choir. In cathedrals, and in a few



1. CHERRY HINTON, CAMBRIDGESHIRE. PISCINA AND SEDILIA



2. ST. CHAD'S CHURCH, STAFFORD.  
FONT



parish churches such as Lancaster, or Leighton Buzzard in Bedfordshire, stalls for singing men remain. These were generally fitted with hinged seats called misereres or misericords, which when tipped up were broad enough at the edge to give support during long periods of standing. I have heard it said that the idea also was that if a singing clerk fell asleep during a service the pressure of his dead weight on the edge of the seat would send it down with a startling clatter. I have tried this, though not during a service, and it does. The under-side of these misereres was often carved, and many such carvings are of striking beauty or humour. The carvers saw no incongruity in placing the figure of an angel on one seat, and a mermaid and a litter of pigs on those on either side; indeed, one of the delights of studying medieval carving in detail is the constant reminder that in those days religion was not a thing apart, but concerned the whole of man's life, including his sense of fun.

Nowadays the sermon and the lessons play a large part in the service, but though we think of these as more especially protestant there was provision for them in the catholic Middle Ages. Lecterns are still generally carved in the form of an eagle with outspread wings, and that was the favourite shape then; but one in particular deserves to be singled out for its ingenious and appropriate symbolism. The splendid church of the hospital of St. Cross at Winchester has a lectern which at first sight resembles an eagle; but if you look closely you will see that the bird has the beak of a parrot, while on the top of its head a heart is carved. The meaning is that the scriptures should be read with real feeling, not mechanically and by rote. Though lecterns have altered little, pulpits have changed with fashions in preaching. Those that survive from the Middle Ages, like those depicted in medieval manuscripts,



are large enough to admit the preacher and no more; it would seem that he went up to say what he had to say simply and to an attentive congregation. But the pulpits of the seventeenth century are much more spacious; the sermon and not the sacrament was the centre of religious life, and preaching—much of it, doubtless, political and controversial in tone—had become conscious oratory, demanding room for movement and gesture. It has been pointed out that Wren's chief concern inside his city churches was to provide a spacious and seemly auditorium rather than a place of worship. In the eighteenth century, when high enclosed pews were common, it was necessary to raise the pulpit if the parson was to see his audience at all; hence the 'three-deckers' like that at Minstead in the New Forest, with a reading-desk and a seat for the watchful clerk below the pulpit itself.

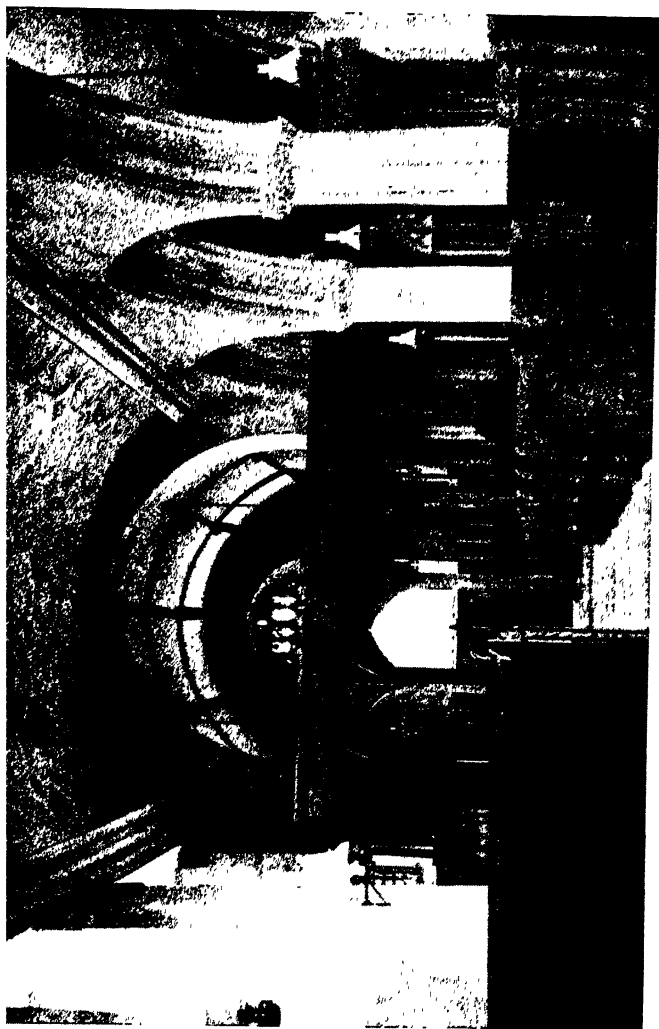
There remains the font, where the infant's first religious service takes place. The early fonts are large, and would easily allow baptism by immersion; the rubric still instructs the priest to dip the child 'discreetly and warily' in the water, unless the parents certify that it is weak; but a number of fonts of the seventeenth century are mere basins on pedestals, and the custom of pouring water on the head is of long standing. In general, fonts are ornamented with architectural details of the period to which they belong, but the entrance of the infant into the Church was an excellent occasion for symbolical display. Doubtless the creatures on the bowl at St. Chad's, Stafford (Plate 12, Fig. 2), are demons against which baptism will protect the child, while at Northleach in Gloucestershire the font bears a little parable in stone; its base is supported at the corners by buttresses surmounted by angels, and each buttress presses on the throat of a small devil whose tongue protrudes in the last agony of suffocation.

Fonts were always provided with a cover, to prevent defilement of the consecrated water or its theft for use in magical arts, and where no cover remains the marks of hinges may be seen; in course of time a plain lid was felt to be inadequate, and in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the great days of church woodwork, font-covers of striking height and elaborate beauty were made, like those of Sall in Norfolk and Ewelme in Oxfordshire.

The church has always provided aids to devotion apart from the services themselves, and in days when very few could read these were particularly necessary. Inside the door, or more often within the porch, stoups are still in some places to be seen, where the worshipper could cross himself with consecrated water before entering the church, bringing to mind his baptismal vows and need for spiritual cleansing. Once he was in the building he was everywhere confronted with reminders of holy things. He had no Bible, nor could he have read one, but the windows, wall-paintings and statues told him Bible stories, showed him the blessed saints and the noble army of martyrs, drew a vivid picture of the joys of heaven and, above all, of the misery of the damned. Remains of old glass, though large in amount and of great beauty and interest, are in most churches fragmentary and scattered; but the wall-paintings, which are gradually being uncovered of whitewash, restored and preserved by Professor Tristram and other devoted workers, reveal even more of the ordinary man's view of religion. There was often a large representation of the Last Judgement over the chancel arch. In the one at the Guild Chapel, Stratford-on-Avon, the dead rise from their graves in the foreground, a bishop, a king and a pope among them, and proceed to the heavenly throne for their verdict.

Some are seen joining the angelic choir, but the majority are hauled and driven into a gaping hell-mouth, tormented by devils alive with malice. It was a general belief that only one person in a thousand would be saved, yet each one must have been hopeful for himself, or life would have lacked the gusto and humour that possessed the Middle Ages. Perhaps men regarded their own futures as Janet, the maid in *Paul Kever*, did that of her father. When Paul said that this sea-captain would go to hell for his strong language, she had a wise reply: 'God send my dear, kind father to hell just because he can't talk like the gentlefolks? Don't you believe it of Him, Master Paul. He's got more sense.' But not all wall-paintings are threatening. One of the most popular figures was St. Christopher, patron of all travellers, the sight of whose burly form opposite the south door was supposed to shield all beholders from an evil death that day.

Mention has already been made of the screen that separated nave and chancel. These screens, dating mainly from the fifteenth century, are among the jewels of English craftsmanship. They were carved with the most loving care, and decorated with gold leaf and bright colours—red, blue, green and white. The finest are in East Anglia, Devon and Somerset, where much original painting is to be seen. At Plymtree in Devon, for instance, on panels at the base of the screen, the Three Wise Men come to worship the infant Jesus, and they are lifelike portraits of King Henry VII, Prince Arthur and Cardinal Morton. You can see a general view of the interior of this beautiful church in Plate 13. There was a rood-loft or platform above the screen, and above that, upon the loft or on a separate beam, stood the Rood itself, the cross with Christ crucified, and figures of St. Mary and St. John on either side. It is from this that the name 'rood-screen' derives.



PLYMTREE, DEVONSHIRE



The rood-lofts had various uses; they served as reading-desks and pulpits, as minstrels' galleries, and sometimes held an organ, while since the Reformation the loft in the parish church at Sandon in Staffordshire has been fitted up as a commodious private pew. Even where misguided earnestness has destroyed rood, loft and screen alike, the staircase and door in the wall by which the loft was reached often remain.

The Puritans, though great psalm-singers, hated musical instruments in worship, and during the Civil War ordered the destruction of the organs. They came back with Charles II, the patron of Purcell, and for long years afterwards village choirs were also supplemented by an orchestra in which the favourite instruments were violin and 'cello, flute, clarinet, hautboy and bassoon. This orchestra often sat in a western gallery, towards which the congregation turned during the singing of hymns and anthems. The musicians were full of enthusiasm, and you may have heard the story of Gabriel Squire the old 'cellist, who was heard to exclaim: 'Gi' me thy rosin, Joe, and I'll soon shew 'em Who's the King o' Glowry.'

The Christian year in olden times was diversified by keeping of saints' days and stricter observation of Advent and Lent. In Lent the sanctuary was veiled, and on Maundy Thursday the altar cross and consecrated wafer were placed in an Easter sepulchre, a recess like a tomb in the north wall of the chancel, there to remain, guarded by a succession of watchers, till Easter morn. Easter was a natural as well as a religious festival in the Middle Ages, and the flowers that gladdened the church heralded a fuller life of body as well as spirit. The joyous opening lines of Chaucer's Prologue reflect the universal delight in the spring of men whose days were in the main bounded by the sunlight, and whose stomachs

clamoured for fresh food after the monotonous salt meat of the lingering winter.

In Norman times it would seem that the congregation either stood or knelt on the floor. The earliest seating was stone ledges against the wall. Our saying, 'the weakest go to the wall', refers to these, and proves that most people still used to stand, and the nave of the church may have resembled the floor of the Queen's Hall on Promenade Concert nights. In some parts, especially Nottinghamshire, stone seats were built in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries at the base of pillars, and by the sixteenth century wooden benches were general. The bench-ends gave scope for local craftsmen, and nowhere is their work more varied and rich than in the district around Taunton. At Trull are to be seen the members of a religious procession of the sixteenth century; at South Brent is the painful history of Brer Fox—first decked in a mitre, carrying a bishop's crook and preaching to an attentive audience of birds, then on trial for his impious behaviour, and finally hanged; and at Bishop's Lydeard there is an unrivalled collection of carvings, including geometrical and floral designs, a coat of arms, a ship, a mill, a stag-hunt, the pelican in her piety, and the five wounds of Christ.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries pews became plainer externally, but the 'family pew' was invented in which religious devotion was subordinated to solid comfort. At Stokesay in Shropshire there is a good example, and at Baswich near Stafford the master's pew and the servants' are graded in rank, for the former contains a fireplace. Pew-rents were valuable contributions to church expenses. I have a deed of sale dated 1740, 'Sealed and Delivered upon Triple Sixpenny Stamp paper', in which John Scott, ironmonger, of



1. MULLION, CORNWALL. BENCH-END



2. ISFIELD, SUSSEX. DETAIL OF TOMB OF SIR JOHN SHURLEY





Gillliott in the Greaves in the parish of Walsall, in consideration of two pounds and ten shillings sold to William Webb, miller, 'All that one whole and Intire Seat or pew Scituate and Being in the parish Church in Walsall aforesaid, a Seat or pew of or belonging to William Persehouse Esquire wherein his Servants usually Sitt being on ye West side, and a Certain Seat or pew of Samuel Higgins being on the East side thereof, with all Sittings kneelings and appurtenances in or belonging to the aforegranted seat or pew.'

Before large windows were built churches must have been dark on winter days. A few cresset stones survive, cups to contain oil and a wick, but the main artificial light came from candles stuck on spikes. A church like St. Bartholomew the Great in Smithfield must have needed hundreds to dispel its 'darkness visible', and I wonder if the custom of offering candles before a shrine was encouraged so as to lessen the cost of illumination. Later, candelabra were introduced, some, like that at Chiddingstone in Kent, of very graceful design. Even to-day in some remote churches the smell of oil lamps mingles with the pleasant aroma of old stone.

The congregation contributed to the picturesqueness of their churches by the monuments to their own dead. There is no space to write of them in any detail, but one must mention the brasses that give a faithful picture of civil, military and ecclesiastical costume from about 1300 till well into the seventeenth century. They are among the most modest and tasteful of memorials; a mat will both hide and protect them, and they might well be revived as an alternative to the bulky modern tombs that take up so much room in our cathedrals and shed so little beauty around them. But size and ostentation are not prerogatives of our own day; the north side of the chancel at Swinbrook in Oxfordshire is occupied by the figures

of six Fettiplaces who lived in Tudor and Stuart times; they recline awkwardly on shelves, resting on their elbows, as if uneasily conscious that they would be better elsewhere—or, as Bosola said in *The Duchess of Malfi*,

With their hands under their cheeks,  
As if they died of the tooth-ache.

Of other church furniture only a catalogue can be given here. There are church chests, cupboards for a dole of bread, alms-boxes; there is ironwork of good quality and local make; there are the painted figures of Moses and Aaron, the Ten Commandments, the lists of old charitable bequests, the royal arms differing slightly from reign to reign, the 'hatchments' of neighbouring gentry; there are the dog-tongs, the scold's bridle, the ducking stool and the parish coffin.

Last—not church furniture, but links between the religious and social life of the community—are the church porch and the churchyard. Some church porches possessed an upper room in which the priest could sleep who would celebrate the 'morrow mass' very early the next day. At other times the room was used as a school, or for meetings of a guild; while being a place convenient, public and sanctified, the porch was a rendezvous for the doing of legal business. I have a Kentish document dated 1577 in which John Hunt binds himself to pay three pounds to Thomas, William and Austin Web—one pound when the document is sealed, and twenty shillings at Whitsuntide and Michaelmas, in the church porch of Westpeckham, between three and five o'clock in the afternoon.

I have heard that some porches are notched with grooves made by people sharpening their arrows. I have seen such grooves on buttresses myself, especially in the sandstone districts, and there is a complete set at Barwell in Leicestershire,

but it is a hard matter to distinguish between the work of archers and of choir-boys. However, we do know that butts were often set up in the churchyard, and fairs held there too, while cock-fighting took place at Chapel-en-le-Frith in Derbyshire. To-day we feel such things unseemly, nor should we tolerate church-ales in the nave. Perhaps we have lost more than we have gained; our religious life is less secular than of old, but can we claim that our business and pleasures are still on terms of intimacy with our religion, as they were when holy days were holidays and God's week like the world's was seven days long?

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## VIII

# THE PARISH CHURCH—ARCHITECTURAL STYLES

‘As an architect, therefore, you are modestly to measure your capacity of governing ornament. Remember, its essence,—its being ornament at all, consists in its being governed.’

RUSKIN.

WE all love detective stories; not merely for the thrill of vicariously braving bullet or knife in the dark, but from the sheer pleasure of putting two and two together; and to those who enjoy using their eyes and their wits, every parish church is a problem, not of detective fiction but of fact. When was it built? Why are the windows so varied? How many times has it been enlarged? Where did the funds come from for that handsome side-chapel? The purpose of this chapter is to supply clues to help in answering these and the dozen other questions that an observant visitor may well ask himself.

To begin with, our church architecture may be divided into three great periods—Romanesque, Gothic and Renaissance. In the first of these, the influence of Rome was predominant. Though her empire perished, in religion and art she remained the capital of western Europe, and the barbarian tribes who had overrun her borders both accepted her faith and built churches in imitation of the only architecture that they had as a model. The result was that throughout western Europe churches were *Romanesque*, that is, built after the manner of the Romans, so far as distance from Rome and the lack of skilled masons would permit. To this period belong the styles that we call Saxon and Norman.

*Note.* All terms not explained in the text are defined in the Index.

But the barbarians did not remain barbarous for ever. They were vigorous peoples, not content always to imitate, and they originated the splendid *Gothic* style, *the* style of the Middle Ages, which has beautified villages and cities throughout our own land and the lands of our neighbours. Its birth was not unheralded. During the twelfth century men's brains were active and they were ready for new enterprises. Towns grew and trade increased; the second and third crusades were undertaken; German kings tried to set up a 'Holy Roman Empire' in which Church and State should combine to rule Christendom in harmony; Popes strove to become princes of this world and interfered in politics; in England and France strong monarchies arose under kings who were lawyers as well as warriors; and there was a widespread monastic revival. It was an age of church building which was also an age of mental ferment; naturally architecture developed, and by the end of the century the great structural problem of the Middle Ages had been solved by the use of the pointed arch and the buttress. Gothic architecture was born. In England it produced three main styles, for which the old names seem the simplest and most satisfactory—Early English, Decorated and Perpendicular.

The third architectural period began when the Middle Ages were brought to an end by the Renaissance and the Reformation. The latter for a time checked the building of churches. The former led men back to the ancient world for their ideas; and so, after the time of Henry VIII (1509-47), though the Perpendicular style lingered, new churches and new fittings to those existing were sometimes of *Renaissance* or revived classical style. But it was not a great church-building period, like the Gothic. Indeed, there were already churches in plenty for a population that was only slowly

increasing, and the age that destroyed the monasteries was more concerned to erect mansions as monuments to its own magnificence than churches to the glory of God. A cataclysm like London's Great Fire of 1666 was needed to call forth the new St. Paul's and the steeples of Christopher Wren.

A few dates are necessary. Even our latest and best comic history book admits that one is engraved on the hearts of all Englishmen—1066, the coming of the Norman conqueror. Knowing this, we can give rough but adequate dates to the styles with the aid of a minimum of arithmetic:

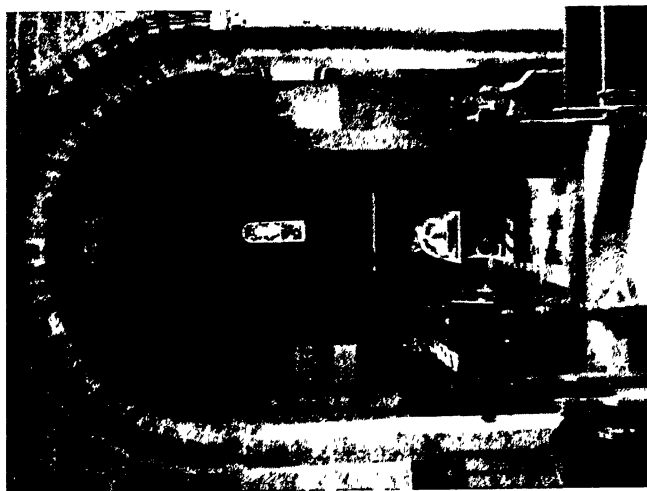
Saxon	.	.	.	before 1066	} Romanesque
Norman	.	.	.	1066-1166	
Early English	.	.	.	1166-1266	} Gothic
Decorated	.	.	.	1266-1366	
Perpendicular	.	.	.	1366-1566	
Renaissance	.	.	.	1500 onwards	

This excludes modern churches and chapels; for these, apart from a few honourable exceptions and some exercises in imitation like Truro Cathedral, are not architecture but just buildings. Of course the dates are approximate, but that is as it should be. Before one style had died out in the more remote or conservative parts of England, another was developing elsewhere, and between the styles there was always a considerable overlap. It is as if I went to bed yesterday at 10.30 and got up this morning at 7, while you were dancing till after 2 o'clock and slept soundly until 11.

Let us consider the styles in more detail. The churches of Saxon England have been described in Chapter IV. Those of the Normans are their cousins, but more sophisticated and less countrified cousins, because France was more closely in touch with Rome. Indeed, Norman architecture, despite its



1. STEWKLEY, BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.  
NORMAN TOWER AND DETAIL



2. MOCCAS, HEREFORDSHIRE. NORMAN  
INTERIOR





rudeness, preserves three of the qualities that mark all the best work of ancient times: horizontality, massiveness and dignity.

Though a Greek temple is surrounded by columns, the eye is not led up and down but along or across, by the horizontal lines of steps, architrave and frieze; the low pediment displays no anxiety to shoot up to heaven, but seems content to crown a building firmly rooted in the earth. Something of the same restfulness pervades a Norman church. The corbel table and string-course lead the eye from west to east; the flat buttresses belong to the wall and give no additional upward thrust; the low, spireless tower is sturdy, with feet planted deliberately on the solid ground, or there is no tower at all, only a bell-cot; and within, you look not upwards but towards the chancel arch and the altar.

This impression of calm is deepened by the sense of mass. The thick walls shelter a sanctuary of coolness on the hottest summer day. Light steals in through the tiny windows and touches heavy columns built to last for ages. The arches are low and press down on the simple capitals. More might have been attempted, but much has been achieved; the Norman ideals were security and permanence, and they realized them with the thoroughness of their race.

The obvious strength of the place is not without its dignity. To be sure, there are churches whose solidity is clumsy; while the walls have cores of rubble, the early masonry is wide-jointed, and the mortar bad. There is also something barbaric about the ornament—row upon row of zig-zag or billet or nail-head, fierce carvings on capitals or the tympanum above the door, grotesque heads and figures of demons and fabulous beasts. But these are not abiding impressions. We feel that a Norman church was founded on a rock and there

stands, heedless alike of time and of human criticism; and the very riot of ornament that had so savage an air is seen to be kept in due subordination, when the eye turns from the rich carving and finds repose on the quiet expanse of the wall.

To proceed from Norman to Early English is to cross one of the frontiers of art. A great Gothic church presses upwards, not downwards; stands poised, almost trembling like a butterfly 'on tiptoe for a flight'. It has a dynamic, not a static equilibrium; and this triumph of art has been achieved through a scientific discovery.

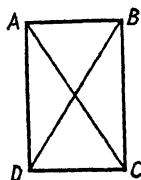


FIG. 1.

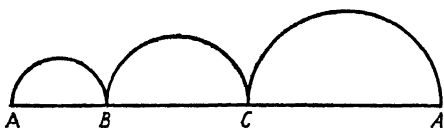


FIG. 2.

All architects are faced with the problem of the roof. A wooden roof is light and its outward thrust on the walls is small, but it is easily destroyed by fire. The Romans discovered that a stone roof can be made in the form of a tunnel, as our railway tunnels are made, and also that two tunnels can be built, intersecting at right angles, each supporting the other. The Normans copied these methods of vaulting a building, but a serious problem remained, which diagrams will make clearer.

Let us suppose that there are columns at *A*, *B*, *C*, and *D*, and that the space *ABCD* is to be given a vaulted stone roof.

As yet we know only of the semicircular arch used by Roman and Norman. There are at once two difficulties, because the semicircular arches built on  $AB$ ,  $BC$ , and  $CA$  would naturally rise to different heights (Fig. 2).

If the height of the vault was to be that of the arch on  $BC$ , the diagonal arch  $CA$ , which would have to span a wider space, would be flattened at the top and likely to sag (Fig. 3), particularly if the space vaulted was large.

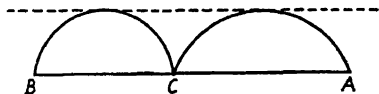


FIG. 3.

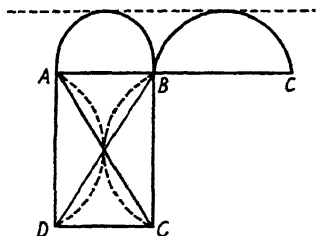


FIG. 4.

Moreover, as the arch on  $AB$  must be brought to the same height as that on  $BC$ , it needs to be 'stilted', that is, to spring from the columns higher up than would the arch on  $BC$ , with the result that the diagonal arches  $CA$  and  $BD$  would be twisted and their construction most difficult (Fig. 4).

The solution was to build pointed arches which could be carried, whatever the width of the base from which they sprang, to any height required (Fig. 5). The ribs were built first and then the spaces to be vaulted were filled in.

This was a triumph, but it led to a second problem—how to prevent the outward thrust of the arched stone roof from pushing the walls apart and breaking them down. A single vault has to be reinforced against outward thrust along its whole length, as a railway tunnel is supported at the side by

the earth through which it has been cut. But it is clear that, where cross vaults are made, each pushes against the other, and the whole stress falls at the points from which the vaults spring; so if at these points the wall is strengthened it will stand. The Romans had used cross vaults, but dodged the main difficulty, for they made their roofs of solid concrete

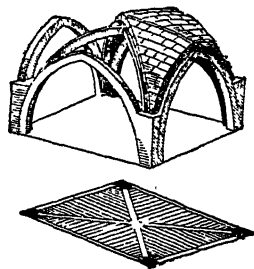


FIG. 5.

which simply weighed down on the walls and did not push them outward. The Normans made real arches of separate shaped stones which, of course, exercised an outward as well as a downward thrust, and their method of supporting the walls was to make them of immense thickness. Even so, they were frightened of the consequences, and though they vaulted

their narrow aisles they used timber roofs for their naves, with the solitary exception of Durham Cathedral. It must have been plain for years that buttresses were the solution, and in a church without aisles it is a simple matter to buttress the nave. But where there *were* aisles, how could the nave walls be adequately supported? An unknown mason in France had the brilliant idea of building stout buttresses against the wall of the aisles, opposite to the points where the thrust of the nave roof was concentrated, and throwing from them arms or 'flying buttresses' to transfer this thrust from the walls of the nave to the ground (Fig. 6). The result was to make the remainder of the walls unnecessary as a support for the roof, and so to permit of the insertion of much larger windows, and a general lightening in the construction of walls and pillars.

These great changes in construction began not in parish

churches but in cathedrals. Indeed, many parish churches were built without vaults, which were expensive and needed skilled masons; but parochial builders found the pointed arch

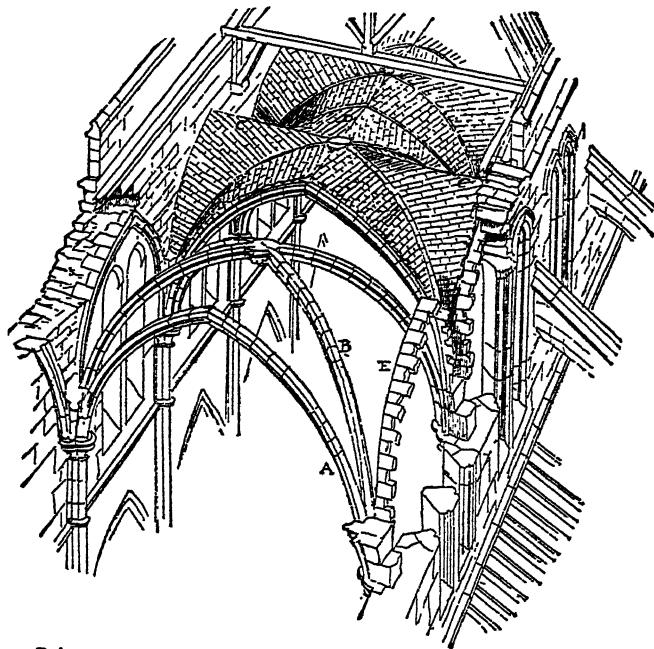
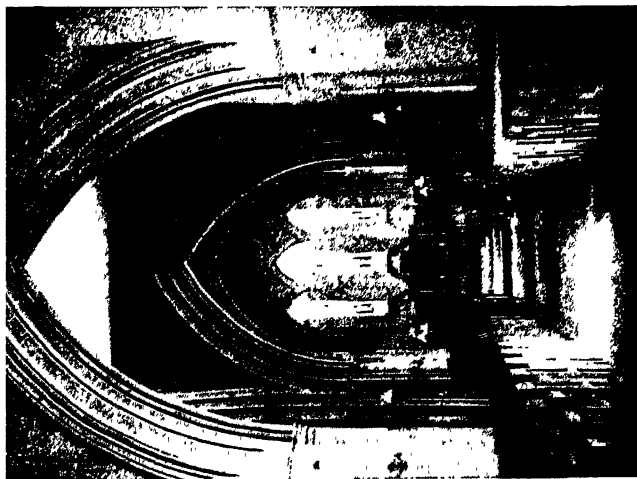


FIG. 6.

more stable than the round one, for its voussoirs lay almost horizontally in the lower courses and were less likely to fall in; and so the use of pointed arches, windows and doors, the slenderness and greater height that the new methods made possible, and the general lightening of detail, both in construction and ornament, spread from cathedrals and monasteries throughout the country-side.

Let us visit an imaginary but typical Early English church, and compare it with its Norman uncle in the next village. A spire peeps through the tree-tops and as we draw nearer we see that it is of the kind called *broach*, fitting on the tower like a cap. The buttresses are no longer thin and meagre, but project boldly in two or three stages; between them are narrow pointed windows, and at the west end three of these *lancets* stand side by side. At the east end there are no less than five, graduated in height, while at the corners buttresses spring in pairs, against the north and south walls as well as the east. The door is pointed, too, with slender shafts at each side; and within, the columns of the nave arcade are not massive beyond necessity. Their bases are beautifully moulded, and one moulding is so cut that it could be filled with water. The capitals are shaped like an inverted bell, and from those in the chancel springs out stiff foliage undercut with the chisel, like no plant that grows, but the very flower of the stone itself, thrusting upwards as if to raise the lofty arches. These also are pointed, and bear simple, deeply cut mouldings that hold the shadow, and in one of them runs a row of *dog-tooth* ornament. There is little more light than in the Norman church, but there is a new lightness, a delicacy and restraint that bring to mind the naked trees of an early spring (Plate 16, Fig. 1).

The Decorated style that followed is the summer of Gothic. Among its village churches are some of the homeliest in the land, and yet *Decorated* is no misnomer; for there was not now a structural problem to solve, and the talents of architects were turned to decoration, to clothing the Early English tree with a rich and varied foliage. The chief development was in the windows. Early English builders had not been



1. UFFINGTON, BERKSHIRE. EARLY  
ENGLISH INTERIOR



2. WEEDON LOIRS, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.  
GROTESQUES





content with their lancets, nor with grouping two, three, five, or even seven of them under a dripstone or hood moulding. Especially when there were a pair something seemed lacking in the design, until a man hit on the idea of punching a hole in the wall, and discovered plate tracery (Fig. 7). Once the lancets and the hole were enclosed in a frame, they became



FIG. 7.



FIG. 8.

one unit of design. Other discoveries of the same period were the trefoil head for a lancet and the foliation of the circular opening, and when these were combined (Fig. 8) the result was almost a window. It was hardly a true window; it was rather a decorative composition of stone and holes in the stone; and what the new style did was to reduce the area of stone until only ribs and cusps were left, and then there was a real window—made of glass, divided and strengthened by thin stone bars arranged in a pleasing fashion. It was natural that the earliest Decorated windows were geometrical in design, and none of the later ones excelled these in grace; but the tendency was towards freedom, and tracery became first flowing and then flamboyant as liberty degenerated into licence.

The other changes of the Decorated period may be briefly dismissed. Spires were now built inside a parapet; mouldings

were less prominent; the vigorous stiff foliage was replaced by natural carving—often most beautiful, but wrapped, as it were, round a capital instead of growing out of it to support the arch above. Crockets of stiff foliage had already been sparingly used in the Early English style, but now, naturalistic in treatment, they were freely employed to decorate spires, pinnacles and canopies. The dog-tooth disappeared, and was replaced by the *ball-flower* and *four-leaved flower*, while on walls and other available spaces diaper work was sometimes cut. The changes, in short, were in detail and not construction, the work of sculptors rather than master-masons; but never was medieval sculpture more delicate than now, whether expressed in the foliage of the Chapter-houses of Ely and Southwell (Plate 20, Fig. 2) or in grotesques in some village church, such as those in Plate 16, Fig. 2, where the eternal taskmaster and the everlasting imp of mischief bear each other company.

In 1346, when Chaucer was a child and the Black Prince won his spurs at Crécy, the Decorated style might seem to have reached the zenith of its richness and variety. Two years later England was struck by the Black Death, the most devastating of many visitations of bubonic plague, and of some four million people perhaps a million and a half died. Church building ceased; and when gradually it was resumed, though old habits lingered, as always, there grew up what Ruskin called 'our detested Perpendicular'. Lesser men have echoed his disgust, and when I was a boy I was told: 'Perpendicular is just dull.' The complaint can be understood. Perhaps a better name for the style would be 'Rectangular', and a list of characteristics of the period will give some idea of the dominance of ruler and set-square.

*Windows.* The varied curves have gone, and most of the mullions are carried straight up to the top. In large windows a transom or cross-bar emphasizes the right angles.

*Doors.* Have a flattened arch, nearly straight-sided towards its apex, and are generally enclosed in a square frame.

*Buttresses.* Often these, and parapets, pulpits, fonts, indeed any convenient surface, are covered with panelling of a stereotyped kind, dividing them into many rectangular compartments.

*Mouldings.* Are flat and wide, as if almost ashamed to be curves at all.

*Pillars.* With their bases and capitals, are frequently octagonal, not round. Arches may be depressed, like those of the doors.

*Roofs.* In general have a low pitch.

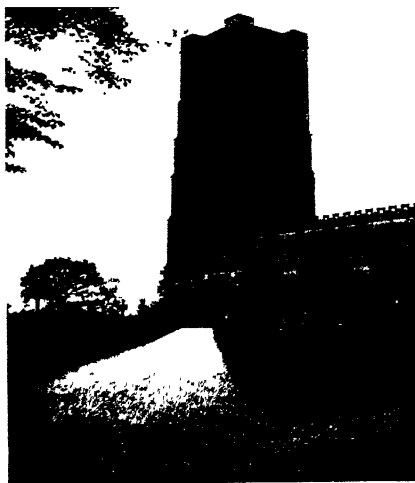
*Ornament.* There is a prevailing squareness, to be seen in the *Tudor flower*, in battlements, crockets, and even in carved foliage.

In face of so much regularity one can sympathize with the man whom the depressed arches depress, and with Ruskin's scorn for 'an entanglement of cross-bars and verticals, showing about as much invention or skill of design as the reticulation of the bricklayer's sieve'. But the fact is that for once Englishmen had pursued an idea to its logical conclusion. Since the thrust of the roof had been taken by buttresses, the rest of the wall served only to keep out the weather, and could be replaced by windows. This encouraged the glass-makers, and one reason for the adoption of Perpendicular tracery was its convenience for displaying their art; while transoms were needed to make a framework strong enough to resist a gale. The result was that by the Perpendicular period a church had changed from a rather tomb-like sanctuary to a glorious

lantern, to enjoy the light of which one had to go inside. Nowadays the light seems cold, for Puritan fervour has destroyed the old glass, but then the shallow mouldings were flecked with colour and the ornament that to us seems redundant was 'fretted with golden fire'. At Fairford in Gloucestershire, as we enter the church we can step across four centuries, for all the original glass remains; a white-hot iron bar in one window made me shudder, while the blue and green coolness of a view outside Jerusalem might have been Andrew Marvell's *Garden*, or Paradise itself.

But there is more in Perpendicular than mere logic. The roofs and woodwork are a marvel of beauty; the fan-vaulting of chapel or cloister rises and spreads like an avenue of trees. The towers are the grandest in England. I would even venture to say that the best of them, such as Magdalen Tower, are in their combination of perfect proportion, grace, dignity and sparing ornament the most beautiful in the world. When we consider contemporary French churches, with their decadent and meaningless flamboyance, we can be thankful for that quality in our Perpendicular style which its detractors term rigidity, but in which we recognize English restraint.

The churches of this style are social as well as religious monuments. The Black Death which heralded their birth provided the funds for their building. Where peasants had died or run away to earn money as free labourers, the land was given over to sheep-rearing, and enough wool was produced both to satisfy the Flemish looms and to encourage cloth-making at home. Two centres of the industry were East Anglia and the Cotswolds, and magnificent churches like Southwold and Lavenham in Suffolk (Plate 17, Fig. 1), Chipping Campden and Northleach in Gloucestershire, were built, so to speak, of wool. John Fortey of Northleach, who



1. LAVENHAM, SUFFOLK. PER-  
PENDICULAR TOWER AND  
DETAIL



2. DORCHESTER ABBEY, OXFORDSHIRE. AN EXERCISE IN  
DETECTION



died in 1458, raised the splendid nave; William Bicknell erected the south chapel. They and many others are commemorated with their families in the array of brasses, resting tranquilly with their feet upon woolsacks, their merchants' marks taking the place of a knightly coat of arms. These monuments remind us of the growth of a middle class. Perpendicular architecture has been described as 'democratic'; it might well be called domestic, for a church, if less obviously a sanctuary than of old, was, by a homelier piety, God's house.

After the peculiarly English style came the final foreign invasion. Few churches were built in Elizabeth's reign, and even in the seventeenth century the main activity was in restoration. Thus the influence of the Renaissance is to be seen less in complete churches than in their fittings, especially woodwork such as screens, pews and pulpits, and in monuments. There are, of course, a number of churches in an Italianate manner, such as Ingestre (Staffs.), 1676, or Over Whitacre (Warwick) and Bourton-on-the-Water (Gloucester), about a century later, but they are obvious foreigners. Indeed, architecture was no longer a national idiom reflecting the genius of the race, but the work of professional architects; and so it is not unfitting that to most of us the Renaissance style is best expressed by the name of Sir Christopher Wren.

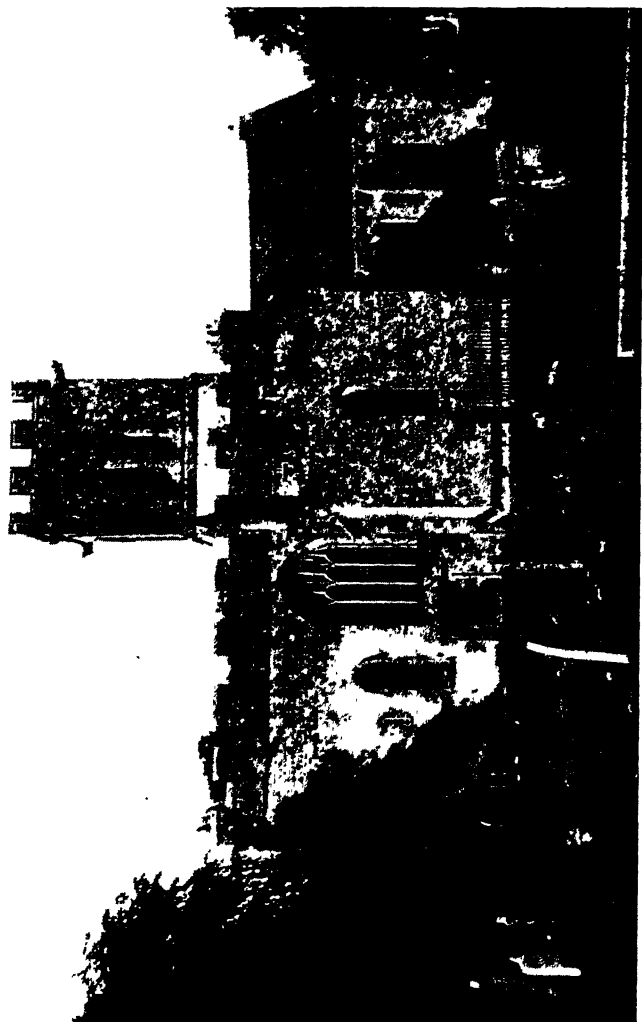
It has been necessary for the sake of clearness to consider each style separately, but the peculiar charm of English churches lies in the fact that so many of them have been built at different times and in many styles, and it is a delight to trace in the stones the history of the building. The photograph of part of Dorchester Abbey (Plate 17, Fig. 2) will give an idea of what can be discovered. The tracery of the



windows is similar throughout, but the division of the roof suggests that there were two periods of building. Can we, without going inside to look for a separating wall, find other evidence of this? There are no less than five clues.

1. The coping-stones of the wall on the right are slightly higher than those on the left.
2. The buttresses beneath them have hoods.
3. The windows on that side are taller.
4. The moulding over them is continued along the wall as a string-course.
5. Directly under the gable of the roof a *straight-joint* runs right down the wall.

Dozens of churches offer such problems, and one of them is illustrated in Plate 18. Long and short work at a corner may be the only surviving feature of Saxon building. A flat buttress nearly hidden by a later one will prove that the walls are Norman, while Norman carved stones may have been used in a later rebuilding. If the east window is Perpendicular, but at each corner of the chancel there are two small buttresses, an Early English wall will have been remodelled. Often the windows of an aisle are later in date than the pillars of the nave; the aisle may have been widened, or smaller windows replaced for the sake of more light. Even if windows and pillars are of the same period, the aisle may be an addition; look above the nave arches, and if there are blocked-up windows the church once had no aisle, and what is now an arcade was then the wall of the nave. Straight joints are un-failing tokens of rebuilding, and may be the only sign that a church has been lengthened. This list might be made much longer, but the pleasure lies in finding for oneself; and when the search is ended we discover not a fugitive from justice but a familiar friend.



STOKE-SUB-HAMDON, SOMERSET. ANOTHER STUDY IN DETECTION.  
See List of Illustrations



## TABLE OF STYLES

This is not complete. Even so, points are mentioned here that do not appear in the text. Details of the Renaissance style are not included; it stands out from the others as an importation.

The almost certain clues are printed in capitals.

S. = sometimes.

	NORMAN	EARLY ENGLISH	DECORATED	PERPENDICULAR
TOWERS	Squat. No spire.	May have broach spire.	May have para- pet spire.	Small timber broach spires in wooded dis- tricts.
BUTTRESSES	FLAT.	More projection. S. small but- tresses in pairs at a corner.	S. have a canopy.	S. PANELLED.
WINDOWS	ROUND-headed and small.	LANCETS. PLATE tracery.	CURVED BAR tracery.	PERPENDI- CULAR tracery. S. with FLAT- TENED arch. TRANSOMS used.
DOORS	ROUND-headed. S. deeply recessed. Tympanum is S. carved.	Pointed. S. trefoiled.	Pointed. Often very plain.	FLATTENED arch in SQUARE FRAME.
BASES OF PILLARS	Low and simple. Occasionally ornamented at corners.	S. WATER- MOULDING.	Never water- moulding. Increased height.	Quite high.
CAPITALS	Have SQUARE- EDGED Abacus. S. shallow carving.	Inverted bell shape. S. with STIFF FOLIAGE.	Similar but S. NATURAL FOLIAGE.	Often meagre. Often hexagonal.
ARCHES	Generally ROUND- headed.	Pointed. S. trefoil headed in arcading and piscinas.	S. ogee arch, but only in doors, cano- pies, &c.	S. FLAT- TENED arch.
MOULDINGS	Negligible.	Deeply cut.	Less deep.	Quite shallow.
ORNAMENT	ZIGZAG, BIL- LET, STAR, NAILHEAD, CABLE. Arcading.	DOG TOOTH. STIFF FOLIAGE.	BALL FLOWER. Four-leaved flower. Diaper work.	PANELLING. BATTLE- MENT. TUDOR FLOWER. General SQUARE- NESS.

## IX

### MONASTERIES

‘They also serve who only stand and wait.’

MILTON.

THE earliest Christian monks lived in Egypt and the Near East. Some were hermits, as was St. Anthony for twenty years; others dwelt in communities; and both solitaries and cenobites submitted themselves to severe privations. When monasticism spread to Europe the same austerity at first prevailed, but St. Benedict, whose work began about the year 500, tempered asceticism with common sense. St. Benedict had spent three years alone in a cave in the Sabine Hills, but when he decided to found ‘a school for the Lord’s service’ it was the corporate and not the solitary life that he had in mind. He drew up the famous Rule that was the first practical system for the government of a monastery, and nearly all later rules were based on his. One of its merits was the wide discretion left to the abbot, which preserved the system from undue rigidity. Another was its moderation; the life was a hard one, to be sure, but it was practicable, and fitted for a western climate.

It is impossible to understand the daily life of a monk unless one can tell monastic time. They divided the day into 24 hours, as we do, but 12 of these ran from sunrise to sunset, and 12 from sunset to sunrise. At the equinoxes, in March and September, their time was the same as ours, but as the months wore on it grew more and more different. At Midsummer there would be about 16 hours of full daylight and 8 of comparative dark, and the length of each hour of the day would therefore be about 80 minutes, while the night hours lasted for only 40 minutes each. By Christmas these

proportions had become reversed, and the hours of night were in their turn twice as long as those of the daytime.

Bearing this in mind, we can reconstruct a monk's day from what St. Benedict wrote in his Rule. The chief duty was to sing God's praise: 'As soon as the signal for the hour of Divine Service has been heard, leaving everything that they had in hand they shall run with the greatest haste; with gravity, however, in order that scurrility may find no nourishment.' There were eight daily services, of which a list is given, together with the times when they would take place in March or September.

Vigils (later called Matins)	8th hour of the night	2 a.m. (lasted for over an hour)
Matins (later called Lauds)	First dawning light	about 4.30
Prime	Sunrise	6 o'clock
Tierce	3rd hour of the day (But from October 1 till Lent Tierce was at the 2nd hour)	9 o'clock
Sext	6th hour of the day	Noon
None	9th hour of the day	3 o'clock
Vespers	Eventide	about 4.30
Compline	Before bed—say sunset	6 o'clock

Sext was invariable throughout the year, as it was always sung (or said privately, if in the fields) at noon. The varying times of the other services can be calculated by working in either direction from noon, and for each monastic hour allowing  $\frac{1}{12}$  of the hours of daylight—or, for Vigils, starting at midnight and adding  $\frac{1}{8}$  of the hours of darkness.

Apart from the services, and the necessary time for meals, the rest of a monk's day was allotted by St. Benedict to manual labour in the fields and garden or about the house, and to sacred reading. On Sunday no outdoor work was done, but the services were longer, Mass was celebrated, and there was

more time for study. The following table shows the arrangements for work and meal-times at different seasons of the year.

WORK	MEALS
<p><i>Easter to October 1</i>            Work after <i>Prime</i> to the 4th hour—            i.e. 10 a.m. in March, or earlier            in summer. (<i>Tierce</i> was said in            the fields.)            Sacred reading from the 4th hour            till <i>Sext</i>.            After dinner, rest or private read-            ing. (If dinner was not till after  <i>None</i>, the rest or reading was            before dinner.)            Work till <i>Vespers</i>.</p>	<p><i>Easter to Whitsuntide</i>            Dinner after <i>Sext</i>.            Supper after <i>Vespers</i>.  <i>Whitsuntide to Holy Cross Day</i>            (Sept. 14)            Wednesdays and Fridays—Dinner            after <i>None</i>: no supper.            Other week-days—Dinner after  <i>Sext</i> and supper after <i>Vespers</i>            (and this arrangement also on            Wednesdays and Fridays if the            Abbot thought fit).</p>
<p><i>October 1 until Lent</i>            Reading after <i>Prime</i> until <i>Tierce</i>            (<i>Tierce</i> was now at the 2nd hour            —i.e. about 8 a.m. in October            and later in winter.            Work from <i>Tierce</i> till <i>None</i>. (<i>Sext</i>            was said in the fields.)            Reading after <i>None</i> and dinner.</p>	<p><i>Holy Cross Day until Lent</i>            Dinner after <i>None</i>: no supper.</p>
<p><i>During Lent</i>            Reading after <i>Prime</i> till <i>Tierce</i>—            i.e. about 9 a.m.            Work from <i>Tierce</i> till the 10th hour            —i.e. about 4 p.m.</p>	<p><i>During Lent</i>            Meal after <i>Vespers</i>.</p>

From this table you will see that there were never more than two meals a day, and between September 14 and Easter only one, which in Lent was not taken until the evening. There were two reasons for this single meal during half of the year: the desire for special self-denial in Advent and Lent, and the longer hours of sleep and smaller amount of manual labour during the dark weather. A pound of bread and about a pint of wine were allowed daily, and St. Benedict laid down

that on days when there was supper 'the third part of that same pound shall be reserved by the cellarer, to be given back to those who are about to sup'. At dinner there were two cooked dishes, and a third if fruit was to be had; fish, eggs and cheese were permitted, 'but the eating of the flesh of quadrupeds shall be abstained from altogether by every one, excepting only the weak and the sick'. After supper and before Compline there was a reading in the chapter-house, but not from the Pentateuch or the Kings, which St. Benedict thought too exciting for bedtime; yet the monks must have been ready enough for sleep when bedtime came.

St. Benedict's ordering of the day has been so fully described because all later rules were based on it; and whatever the variations, the general scheme remained the same. But one must make certain provisos. It is not known whether St. Benedict's rule was ever observed in its entirety in England; and it is known that in the later Middle Ages certain changes had become almost universal. Since the remains of monasteries that we can see are not just the original buildings, but include the additions of several centuries, we can properly understand them only if we know the changes in monastic life which affected their use. The most important are these:

(1) It became customary to hold the night service (now called Matins) at midnight instead of the eighth hour of darkness, and the next service (now called Lauds) immediately afterwards. This divided the night's sleep into two, and as soon as Lauds was over the monks went back to bed until Prime.

(2) Monks were not necessarily priests, and in the earliest days few were so; but later, more and more of them took holy orders as well as the monastic vows, and *daily* Masses were celebrated.



(3) There was a tendency to group the lesser hours (Tierce, Sext and None) together, about the Masses.

(4) The daily Chapter was introduced (see p. 124); St. Benedict makes no mention of this.

(5) St. Benedict was an Italian. Owing to the colder climate of England monks were allowed light refreshment of bread soaked in wine (*Mixtum*) in the mornings. This was, however, not taken in Lent nor on certain fast-days.

(6) The literate monks began to give less time to manual work and more to study, and hired servants were kept for whom St. Benedict had not made provision. In the houses of orders which included lay-brothers as well as monks (see p. 127), the lay-brothers performed the duties which elsewhere came to be carried out by hired servants. This is a convenient place to mention the scholarly activities of the English monasteries: the illuminated manuscripts, ranging from the Lindisfarne Gospels of about the year 700, and those of the Winchester School in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries, to the beautiful East Anglian work of about 1300; the monastic schools, especially valuable before the Norman Conquest; and the annals and chronicles compiled in many monasteries, above all at St. Albans, where the succession of historians includes Roger of Wendover and Matthew Paris, William Rishanger and Thomas Walsingham.

The turning year is a pattern of all human endeavour, and in the spiritual world, like the physical, it is not always spring. During the four centuries after St. Benedict's death, Europe was overrun by barbarian conquerors who quarrelled over the spoil, and the rapid spread of monasticism in this stormy age made it all the harder to sustain the early zeal. On the Continent the seventh century was the darkest period of the

Dark Ages, but in England Roman and Celtic Christians were active in the work of conversion, while Archbishop Theodore of Tarsus organized and disciplined the Church. The eighth century was marked by the literary activity of the Venerable Bede in the monastery of Jarrow; the vigour of the famous school at York, whose master, Alcuin, went to help Charlemagne to civilize the Franks; and the missionary enthusiasm of Willibrord among the Frisians and Boniface in Germany. But in England it was on the whole a century of decline, and both Bede and Boniface wrote of the evil condition of many of the monasteries, which suffered also from the plundering raids of the Danes.

However, in 910, the year before Normandy was surrendered to the Vikings, began one of a series of monastic revivals: an abbey was founded at Cluny in Burgundy which before 1100 had two hundred dependent priories. The influence of the Cluniac movement did not end then, for four centuries later its daughter houses were four times as numerous; but by 1100 its best work had been done, and other revivals were in progress. Benedictine monasteries had been independent houses, save for the keeping of the one Rule, but the society of Cluny was a corporation and the Abbot of Cluny its supreme governor, and the later Orders were also families of monasteries united by a constitution, so that strictness might be better preserved. There were over thirty Cluniac priories in England, and the most complete remains are to be seen at Castle Acre in Norfolk and Much Wenlock in Shropshire. These are notable for their beautiful work of the Norman period, and it was not until then that Cluniac houses were founded in this country; but the movement for monastic reform had reached our shores a hundred years earlier, and Dunstan, Oswald and Æthelwold had in the reign of King

Edgar restored many monasteries destroyed in the Danish wars, replaced secular canons by monks, and enforced a higher standard of life.

Of the other revived Benedictine Orders only the two most famous can be mentioned here—the Carthusians and Cistercians. The Carthusian Order, founded in 1084, was unique. One often hears of the ‘monk’s cell’, yet most monks lived together, eating and sleeping in a common refectory and dormitory; but each Carthusian had his own little house and garden, said the lesser hours in private, and met his brother monks only at the night-office, the mass and vespers, and for a meal on certain feast-days. This hermit-like life attracted few, and there were only nine charterhouses in England; seven of these were founded after 1340, and the popularity of the Carthusians in the later Middle Ages was probably due to their strict observance of their severe rule of life. Mount Grace Priory in Yorkshire, below the western slopes of the Cleveland Hills, although ruinous, preserves the peculiar plan of a typical charterhouse, with its cloister surrounded by the separate dwellings. Each cell had a hatch constructed with a double turn in the thickness of the wall, so that food might be passed to a monk from the cloister without any other communication.

The Cistercian Order was founded in 1098 in the attempt to recapture the original spartan simplicity of the Benedictine life. Its constitution was largely the work of an Englishman, Stephen Harding, the third abbot, and there were nearly a hundred Cistercian houses in England and Wales. With very few exceptions they were founded in remote spots, and that is why their remains are so extensive, for they have suffered less from destruction and the appropriation of building materials. Fountains Abbey will be described in detail, and

among the finest of our monastic ruins are Kirkstall, Rievaulx, Byland and Jervaulx in Yorkshire, Beaulieu and Netley in Hampshire, Neath and Valle Crucis in Wales, and Tintern by the side of the Wye.

There were other Orders as well as those purely monastic. The monastic movement was not in origin a clerical movement, and at first there were only enough clergy to celebrate the mass. But the ordered and retired life appealed to priests no less than laymen, and this explains the foundation of communities of Canons Regular, that is, of priests living under a rule. They took the vows of poverty, chastity and obedience, as did monks, and shared the common life, but they were not confined to their house and they took part in cathedral services and in parish work. In course of time more emphasis was laid on the monastic side of their life and less on their external duties, but the distinction remained that a canon was essentially a clerk in holy orders, while a monk need not be. The Augustinian or Austin Canons at one time had more than 200 houses in England, and there were still some 170 when the monasteries were suppressed, but of this large number only Haughmond and Lilleshall in Shropshire have much to show now. The Premonstratensians had some 30 houses.<sup>1</sup>

Women as well as men wished to withdraw themselves from the world. There were numerous houses of Benedictine nuns in England, a few Cistercian nunneries, and others affiliated to the Orders of Canons Regular. Of the last, the Gilbertines are of special interest to Englishmen, for they were founded by a Lincolnshire rector and never spread beyond England. Gilbert of Sempringham in the twelfth

<sup>1</sup> Canons Regular should not be confused with the Secular Canons who served in many English cathedrals and are described in the next chapter (p. 134).

century established a house of seven nuns, and with them associated a body of Austin Canons to perform the priestly duties. In all there were twenty-seven Gilbertine foundations, of which eleven were dual, with separate and carefully secluded cloisters and buildings for the nuns and canons. There are few remains to be seen to-day, but at Watton in Yorkshire, the largest house of the Order, the foundations have been excavated and you can study the plan.

The Crusades led to the establishment of another type of religious fraternity, the soldierly Orders such as the Templars and Hospitallers who garrisoned the Holy Land, the Spanish knights of Calatrava, Alcantara and Santiago who fought against the Moors. These were the Church Militant, and much of their time was spent in warfare, but they took the three vows like the monks. In time they became great land-owners, and it was envy of their wealth that led in 1312 to the suppression of the Templars, who have left us in England place-names like Temple Normanton in Derbyshire, and a few round churches built in imitation of the church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem.

Last came the Friars in the thirteenth century, to practise apostolic poverty and conduct the final widespread religious revival of the Middle Ages. Their methods were different from those of the monks, and the friary was to them a military base rather than a home. The world was their cloister, and they seem much nearer than the monks to us because we also are enthusiastic about 'social service', but shrink from contemplation and seclusion. As popular preachers who bound up the sores and shared the poverty of the very poor, they brought a draught of fresh air into organized religion, but their fate, none the less, was worldliness and stagnation; and Chaucer, who seems to have sympathized with the portly

monk's distaste for a cloistered life and delight in hunting and the pleasures of the table, quietly damns the supple friar:

Ful swetely herde he confessioun,  
And pleasaunt was his absolucioun;  
He was an esy man to yeve penaunce  
Ther as he wiste to han a good pitaunce.

He knew the tavernes wel in every toun,  
And everich hostiler and tappestere  
Bet than a lazar or a beggestere.

But the end of a religious revival is not the end of religion; it is the very condition which makes another revival possible.

Wherever you spend your holidays in England, you cannot be many miles from the site of a religious house. Too often the destruction has been all but complete, but in many places there are considerable remains to see. The plan of the Cistercian Abbey of Fountains, near Ripon, will serve as a guide to any monastery that you may visit; there are variations, of course, but as the purpose of all monasteries was the same, their layout followed certain traditional lines. A glance at the Plan<sup>1</sup> will show the disposition of the buildings—the centrally placed cloister, with the monks' dormitory and chapter-house to the east and the refectory on the side opposite to the church; the guest-houses between the main block and the gateway; the group of infirmary buildings standing apart. These arrangements were general; the features peculiar to the Cistercian plan can be dealt with as we encounter them, so let us put on the shoes of imagination and make a tour of the monastery.

The Church (1) is in the form of a cross, with a large extension at the east end—the Chapel of the Nine Altars. Its plan

<sup>1</sup> Opposite p. 130.

is a compromise between monastic necessities and the regulations of the Cistercian Rule on the one hand, and on the other the desire to beautify the building. The needs of a monastery were these:

(a) A high altar for the celebration of the mass. This was placed in the eastern arm, as in all churches.

(b) Side altars, where monks who were also priests might all have the opportunity of celebrating mass frequently. These were usually situated in chapels to the east of the transepts, as you can see in the plan.

(c) An avenue for processions. The aisles provided this.

(d) A choir, where the monks assembled for the daily services. This was usually the open space between the transepts, and often extended one or two bays into the nave.

(e) The nave itself was not normally a monastic necessity, and laymen were admitted to it; but the Cistercians used the west end as a choir for the lay-brothers (see p. 127) and their naves were separated from the aisles by a wall, as you can see at Tintern. After the Black Death lay-brothers came to be replaced by hired labourers and then these walls were pulled down, as the pillars at Buildwas show very clearly.

The eastern arm or presbytery of most early Cistercian houses was small and had no aisles. Originally this was so at Fountains, and there are excellent examples of small, aisleless presbyteries at Kirkstall and Buildwas. But the general tendency was to enlarge the eastern arm and add aisles, when they did not already exist, for the greater convenience of processions; in the thirteenth century the monks of Fountains not only did this, but satisfied their desire for more altars by constructing the beautiful eastern chapel, as wide from north to south as are the transepts. This was a departure from Cistercian principles, which insisted on Puritan plain-

ness. There must be no lofty tower, and not more than two bells, of which only one was to be rung at a time; crosses were to be wooden, and painted glass and ornaments of gold and silver were not allowed. However, as early as the twelfth century stained glass was put in at Rievaulx—would that it survived—and a hundred years later the rebuilding there included the beautiful triforium, another feature forbidden by the Cistercian Rule. At Fountains you will see a lofty tower, but this was built in the more worldly days, only forty years before the monastery was suppressed.

Every religious house needed a convenient approach to the church from the dormitory, because of the midnight or early morning service. In the wall of the south transept at Fountains there is an archway, and once there was a flight of steps leading up to it and thence to the monks' dorter. These have disappeared, but at Hexham in Northumberland there is a fine staircase, down which the brethren came direct from their pallets into church for vigils, rubbing the sleep out of their eyes as they hurried along at the summons of the *sacristan*. This official kept the sacred vessels and vestments, and looked after lamps and candles, and the clock. At night he set its alarm, and he rang the bell for the services and the meeting in the chapter-house. Our sexton is his remote descendant; he no longer guards the sacristy, but he still tolls the bell. The other monastic official whose duties were specially connected with the church was the *precentor*. He prepared the music, trained the monks in singing, and heard the one who was to read in the refectory at meals. He drew up the rota of those who were to take part in the services. He saw to it that the service-books were in good repair, and was also librarian of the monastery, having charge not merely of books and manuscripts but of the supply of parchment and ink.



Mention of the precentor and sacristan has diverted our steps from the Dormitory or Dorter, a long upper room reaching from the church to the River Skell, and covering a passage, the chapter-house (5), the parlour (6), and the large room marked (2) on the plan. It had a timber roof, of which the ridge-mark shows clearly against the wall of the south transept, and it was divided into cubicles by wooden partitions. The Cistercians slept on straw; St. Benedict had allowed a mat, a woollen covering and a pillow, but he added that the abbot was to search the beds frequently, lest a monk had been tempted to possess himself of some private property and hide it there. He also ordered that monks should sleep clothed and 'girt with belts or ropes', but no one was to have a knife by his side for fear that he should strike out in a dream and wound his neighbour. St. Benedict's Rule is full of homely details like these, and he sympathizes with those who found it hard to wake up early: 'When they rise for the service of God, they shall exhort each other mutually with moderation, on account of the excuses that those who are sleepy are inclined to make.' At the end of the dormitory, above the river, was the rere-dorter or latrines (3); in this respect the monks were most particular in their sanitary arrangements, and there was always adequate accommodation.

During the daytime, when they were not in church or at work, the monks lived in the Cloister (4). Unless the nature of the site or the necessities of drainage (as at Tintern) forbade it, the cloister was built on the south side of the church, to catch the sun and give shelter from the cold winds; but it must have been a chilly place in winter, for there was no fire and the Cistercians would not allow fur clothing. There was a corridor along each side, and the senior monks did their reading and writing in the north alley, which had most sun.

In the later Middle Ages this walk was sometimes divided into *carrels* or separate studies, like those at Gloucester Cathedral.

Another part of the cloister was allotted to the novices, probationers who wished to become monks. St. Benedict was not the man to entice folk into a monastery: 'When any newcomer applies for conversion', he wrote, 'an easy entrance shall not be granted him . . . and all the harshness and roughness of the means through which God is approached shall be told him in advance.' The Rule was read to a novice after two months, eight months, and at the end of a year, and each time he had an opportunity to withdraw. It was only after this threefold warning that he took the vows. Generally silence was kept in the cloister, but it was not a place of gloom. In the summer, when the elders were having an after-dinner doze, the juniors and novices might go there for recreation, and you can still see scratched on the walls of the cloisters at Canterbury and Gloucester games not unlike noughts and crosses that novices may have played.

The keeping of order in the cloister, and indeed the general maintenance of monastic discipline, was entrusted to the *prior*, who was the abbot's second-in-command and adjutant. In Cluniac monasteries, where the head of the house was a prior, these duties were performed by the sub-prior. The commonest offences were breaches of the rule of silence and the acquisition of personal property, for both of which St. Benedict ordered that punishment should be very severe.

To the east of the cloister, beneath the dormitory and separated from the south transept of the church by a passage, was the Chapter-house (5). In Cistercian monasteries it was low enough to allow the dormitory to be carried above it right through to the church, but in some houses, as at Canterbury

and Reading, it occupied the whole height of the eastern range. It was equally lofty at Bristol, but stood farther back, and the dormitory was continued over a vaulted vestibule. In the chapter-house the monks met every morning. The one on duty read an account of the saints to be commemorated on the following day, and a part of St. Benedict's Rule. Then the brethren confessed anything they had done amiss, and mentioned breaches of discipline that they had observed; the superior gave judgement, and delinquents were summarily punished, generally by a beating, for which they often made request as a means of penance. If there was any official business, such as the sealing of a document, it would take place now, and the chapter concluded with prayer for the souls of departed brethren and benefactors.

In the previous paragraph the Passage separating the chapter-house from the south transept has been mentioned, and although at Waverley and Furness Abbeys the chapter-house abuts on the church, in most Cistercian monasteries there was a building between. It usually consisted of two rooms, a vestry and the library, and this may well have been the arrangement at Fountains; but the wall separating the two rooms was pulled down in the later Middle Ages, and when the resulting passage was opened in the excavations of 1854 it was found to be filled with human bones.

As you walk round the cloister, you come to two rooms which bring to mind the hardships of the Cistercian life. The Parlour (6) was a small room set aside for the discussion of business and reception of visitors—not for a quiet chat—and those who made use of it were to be as brief as they could, and must on no account disturb the peace of the cloister. In the Warming-room (7) burned from All Saints' Day, November 1, till Easter the only fire in the monastery save those in

the kitchen, and those in the rooms of the higher officers if they had separate apartments. It was the monastic common-room, and during some six months of the year a monk might slip in to unstiffen his cold fingers and cramped joints, and on a frosty morning in October he must have longed for Hallowe'en. Here also the sick were shaved, and the master of the infirmary bled all the monks once a quarter for their health.

Next to the warming-room was the Refectory or dining-hall (8). St. Benedict wrote that 'at the tables of the brothers when they eat the reading should not fail'. A monk was on duty for each week, and during meals he read from a pulpit in the wall; at Fountains the corbel that once supported the pulpit is all that remains, but at Beaulieu Abbey in Hampshire there is the complete pulpit and a graceful staircase leading to it. St. Benedict insisted that there should be no muttering during the reading, and if a monk wanted anything passed to him, he was to make signs and not speak. Later regulations gave detailed instructions about behaviour at meals: a monk must not wipe his mouth or knife on the tablecloth, and must hold his cup in both hands, and those waiting at table 'are to answer the brethren civilly even though they cannot bring what is asked for'. As late as the fourteenth century, medieval table-manners must have been casual, because Chaucer praises his Prioress for what seem to us the simplest of accomplishments:

She leet no morsel from hir lippes fall,  
Ne wette hir fingres in hir sauce depe.  
Wel coude she carie a morsel, and wel kepe,  
That no drope ne fille upon hir brest.

But forks are the means of decorum at meals, and there were few forks until Elizabeth's day.

On either side of the refectory door was the Lavatory, along the south wall of the cloister, where the monks washed their hands before and after dinner; here also they seem to have needed advice, for one regulation runs: 'All the brethren are to be careful not to blow their noses in the towels, or to rub their teeth with them, or to staunch blood, or to wipe off any dirt.' The lavatory was the scene of the ceremonial foot-washing. Every Saturday evening the two monks on duty in the kitchen washed and dried the feet of all the brethren. Among the best-preserved of monastic lavatories are those in the cloisters of Worcester and Gloucester Cathedrals.

West of the refectory was the Kitchen (9). St. Benedict laid down that, except for the sick and those engaged in important public business, all the monks should take a turn in cooking, doing orderly duty for a week at a time. This practice often lapsed and hired cooks were employed under the *kitchener*, but the Cistercians continued to do their own cooking, and that is one reason why their kitchens are found in the cloister buildings, and not set back at a distance as was the case in monasteries of other Orders. No one was allowed in the kitchen save those working there and the master of the infirmary; except that, when there was no fire in the warming-room, the sacristan might come for a light, or the precentor to smooth the wax tablet on which he made the rota of duties in church. This rule was not intended to prevent 'the spoiling of the broth', but to keep weaker brethren from getting an extra warm or a surreptitious snack. On Saturday the cooks washed the room and the towels, and handed back the utensils 'clean and whole' to be given out to those next on duty.

Let us now leave the cloister and go to the remains of a group of buildings some way to the east. These formed the

Infirmary, where lived the sick and those who had been monks for fifty years. They were in the care of the *infirmarer*, an official who has already been mentioned in connexion with the warming-room and the kitchen, and he was their 'doctor, nurse, and spiritual adviser'. The buildings are the Hall (10), Kitchen (11), Chapel (12), a cellar with a room above (13), and the Misericord (14). The last was used for washing the bodies of the dead, and also, by a strange contrast, for the illegal sustenance of the healthy. St. Benedict had allowed meat to the sick, but in laxer times others were permitted to eat it on certain days, though never in the refectory.

Between the infirmary and the cloister is the Abbot's Lodging (15); it was not originally built for this purpose, but was adapted in the fourteenth century, and later enlarged. The Abbot was not supposed to have private apartments, but was obliged by the constitution of the Cistercian Order *in dormitorio iacere, in hospitio comedere*—to sleep in the dormitory and take his meals in the guest-house. However, soon after 1200 a lodging was built for the Abbot of Kirkstall, and wherever discipline slackened and luxury crept in, the head of the house was certain to be well cared for. The only remaining portion of the domestic buildings at Glastonbury is the handsome Abbot's Kitchen which, with its vast fire-places and ingenious arrangements for ventilation, is perhaps the finest memorial in England to medieval cooking.

Several Orders, the Cistercians in particular, included not only monks but lay-brothers. These were men who had taken the vows, but were unable to share in the singing of the daily services because they could not read. They learned by heart the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, the Ave Maria, and Psalm 51<sup>1</sup> which every one sang after dinner. 'A lay-brother

<sup>1</sup> Numbered 50 in the *Vulgate*.

could never become a monk proper; it was forbidden to teach him to read. This rule was established not in the interests of class distinction, but to prevent the feeling of discontent which was utterly foreign to the monastic spirit.' They worked on farms outside the abbey precincts, beyond which the monks themselves might not go, and also at various handicrafts; they would make the clothes and boots for the establishment, and perhaps share in building when this was in progress. The lay-brothers were in the charge of the *cellarer*, an important official like a great man's steward or bailiff, who managed the estates, provided the food, and looked after servants and guests. St. Benedict wrote that the cellarer should be 'one who is wise, mature in character, sober, not given to much eating, not proud, not turbulent, . . . a father, as it were, to the whole congregation'. Like the monks, the lay-brothers had Dormitory and Refectory (16), Latrines (17), and Infirmary (18). They shared the church with the monks, and a night-stair descended from their dormitory to the stalls in the nave. Only one of these buildings calls for remark, the Cellarium (16), but that is one of the most impressive rooms in England. It is the vaulted under-croft of the dormitory, and originally was divided by partitions into refectory and store-room; the partitions have been removed, and now you can look down an avenue 302 feet long. The pillars in the centre rise like graceful trees, and the vaulting ribs resemble a canopy of leafy boughs; it is a triumph of sheer structural beauty, and I doubt if its like exists.

The only other buildings marked on the plan are the Guest-houses (19). St. Benedict wished that all guests should be welcomed as if they were Christ Himself, and especially the poor and pilgrims, 'for in them Christ is received the more. For the very fear of the rich exacts honour for them'. The

Abbot was to join in washing their feet and to preside at meals, and if there were no guests he might invite some monks to share his table. Standing apart from the main buildings are the ruins of the bakehouse, brewhouse and inner gateway, and the perfectly preserved thirteenth-century mill, while the wall of the precincts can still be traced.

Such is Fountains Abbey, perhaps the most majestic and inspiring monastic ruin in Europe. It is pleasing that at the Dissolution the commissioners wrote that religion was 'well kept' here; and also that, when in 1932 the 800th anniversary of the foundation of the abbey was celebrated, Congregational, Baptist, Presbyterian and Methodist ministers took part in the service.

Mention of the Dissolution reminds us that the study of monasticism has led to an immense amount of controversy. How far was the Dissolution deserved? How far, even before the Dissolution, had the monastic system outlived its usefulness; and how far had the monks deserted the way of life that the founders of the movement intended? The protagonists in the dispute have been Dr. Coulton for the *Ayes* and the late Cardinal Gasquet and other Catholic apologists for the *Noes*; and more recently a number of historians have attempted a summing up, mainly in criticism of Dr. Coulton. If I understand them aright, these critics, while appreciating his learning and sincerity, say this: Dr. Coulton has produced a mass of evidence to illustrate the decline from monastic ideals, but he has overstressed the extent of this decline and has treated the unhealthy growths as if they were the norm.

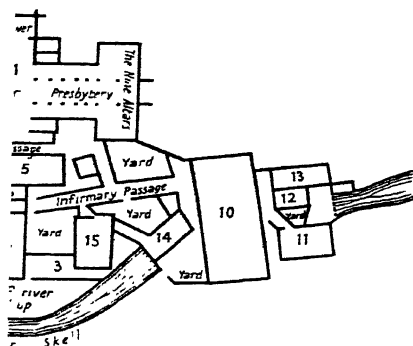
It is true that in every age the scandalmongers attract more attention than they deserve; while every powerful, wealthy and long-established institution professing a noble ideal offers



a target to any satirist who can detect its corporate or individual failings: normality has small 'news-value' and is not easily moulded to the taste of the artist in headlines. On the other hand, Dr. Coulton has laid his cards on the table; and I would suggest that it is not enough to say that they are uniformly black, and that the black suits are not trumps. Historical truth would better be served if an equally thorough search were made to show that there are as many bright cards in the pack. Those who wish to study the controversy in more detail might read the articles in *History* for January and April 1924. For my part I shall content myself with a remark of Dr. Coulton's in another place: 'With all these deductions, it may be said that monasticism was among the greatest, if not the very greatest, of civilizing forces in the Middle Ages.'<sup>1</sup> It grew up when the Roman order was tumbling in ruin about the ears of barbarian destroyers, and it made two great gifts to the world. The more obvious was the establishment, in a fierce, chaotic age, of centres of learning, agriculture, hospitality and the arts of peace. Learning and art are with us still, and our material resources have vastly increased; yet ours is another age of confusion and din, and we ought therefore to be peculiarly fitted to recognize the second, and I think supreme, gift of monasticism—the example of thousands of men and women who with single-minded loyalty devoted themselves to God, in prayer, in contemplation, and in silence.

Many of us think that monasticism is dead, but if you would recapture its spirit, visit Buckfast in Devon. There you will see an abbey rising from its old foundations, and as you talk with the monks will discover that the words of St.

<sup>1</sup> *The Universal History of the World*, vol. iv, p. 2282.



# NTAINS ABBEY

sion of doors, windows, most of the  
except those of the Church.

11. *Infirmary Kitchen*
12. *Infirmary Chapel*
13. *Cellar with room above*
14. *Misericord*
15. *Abbot's Lodging*
16. *Cellarium with Lay-brothers'  
Dormitory above*
17. *Lay-brothers' Latrines*
18. *Lay-brothers' Infirmary*
19. *Guest-houses*

nnels under the Infirmary buildings.



Benedict are true still: 'As one's way of life and one's faith progresses, the heart becomes broadened, and, with the unutterable sweetness of love, the way of the mandates of the Lord is traversed.'

#### FURTHER READING

- A. HAMILTON THOMPSON, *English Monasteries* (Cambridge, 1923, 3s. 6d.).  
D. H. S. CRANAGE, *The Home of the Monk* (Cambridge, 1926, 6s.).  
F. H. CROSSLEY, *The English Abbey* (Batsford, 1935, 7s. 6d.).  
M. R. JAMES, *Abbeys* (The Great Western Railway, 1926, 5s.).  
A. W. OXFORD, *Fountains Abbey* (Oxford, 2nd Edn., 1926, 2s.).  
*Notes on Churches and Abbeys* (S.P.C.K., a few pence each).  
*History*, January and April 1924, articles by Professor POWICKE and Dr. COULTON.

Any readers who care to study the contrasted points of view mentioned in the previous two pages might consult *English Monastic Life* and *Henry VIII and the English Monasteries* by Abbot Gasquet, and *Five Centuries of Religion* and *Ten Medieval Studies* by Dr. Coulton.

## X

### CATHEDRALS

‘Where we have so many elegant proportions, growing one out of the other, and all together into one, it seems as if proportion transcended itself and became something different and more imposing. I could never fathom how a man dares to lift up his voice to preach in a Cathedral. What is he to say that will not be an anti-climax?’

R. L. STEVENSON.

(NOTE. *If you wish to come at once to the buildings themselves, turn to the second section of this chapter.*)

ONE of the most beautiful works of medieval woodcarvers is the throne erected for Walter de Stapledon, Bishop of Exeter from 1308 to 1326. It is 57 feet high and has not a single nail in it. The timber cost £6 12s. 8½d., the head carpenter was paid half a crown a week, and the head carver 2s. 9d. It is a splendid work of art, but it is also a symbol; for a cathedral is pre-eminent not simply as a great and noble church, but because there the bishop has his chair of state, his *cathedra*; no *cathedra*, no cathedral, not even at Beverley. In early days, when England was still a scene of missionary enterprise, sees were founded in what we should think odd places. At one time or another there were bishops at Dunwich in Suffolk, Selsea in Sussex, Ramsbury in Wiltshire, and it is perhaps because they had a bishop for a hundred and fifty years, until the see was transferred to Exeter, that the men of Crediton made the rhyme:

Kirton was a market town

When Exeter was a fuzzy down.

which is untrue, but a handy retort in a neighbourly battle of words. However, after 1133, when Carlisle was made the seat of a bishop, no new dioceses were founded for four

centuries, and at the time of the Reformation the cathedrals were these:

Served by monks: Canterbury, Durham, Winchester, Ely, Norwich, Worcester and Rochester, while at Carlisle the clergy were canons regular (see p. 117).

Served by secular canons: York, St. Paul's, Lincoln, Lichfield, Hereford, Wells, Chichester, Salisbury, Exeter, and the four Welsh bishoprics, St. Davids, Llandaff, St. Asaph and Bangor.

The present list of bishoprics is completed thus:

Founded by Henry VIII: Gloucester, Bristol, Oxford, Peterborough and Chester.

Founded since 1836 to cope with the increase in population: Ripon, Manchester, St. Albans, Truro, Liverpool, Southwell, Newcastle, Wakefield, Birmingham, Southwark, Chelmsford, Guildford, Coventry, Blackburn, Bradford, Bury St. Edmunds, Derby, Leicester, Portsmouth, Sheffield; and, in the disestablished Welsh Church, Newport and Brecon. Of this last group Ripon, St. Albans, Southwell, Southwark and Brecon are ancient churches of great dignity comparable with the earlier cathedrals; Truro, Liverpool and Guildford were designed from the outset as cathedrals; but the rest, though now the centres of new dioceses, are in plan and appearance parish churches, and so are outside the scope of this chapter.

Except for the canons regular at Carlisle the clergy attached to the cathedrals were throughout the Middle Ages of two kinds, monks and secular canons. Of the monks nothing need be said here save that the bishop was their titular abbot; but he left to the prior the control of the monastery, so that he might himself organize the work of his diocese.

Secular canons, unlike monks, did not live in a monastery. The bishop chose his chapter of canons, and from their number appointed the precentor, who controlled the services and music; the treasurer, who looked after the vestments, plate, furniture and the clock, and corresponded to the monastic sacristan; and the chancellor, the secretary of the chapter and master of the cathedral school. The chapter as a whole elected a dean as its president. Each of these officials had his special stall in the choir, and we still divide the singers into *decani*, those on the dean's or south side, and *cantoris*, the side of the precentor. The four dignitaries had always to be in residence; not so the rest of the canons, but every member of the chapter, resident or not, had a vicar or deputy who could take his place in the choir. Every canon held a prebend or source of income; and the chapter also had a common fund, but only those who actually resided were entitled to share in it. Although the bishop appointed the chapter, King and Pope kept themselves informed of vacancies in the more valuable prebends, and sometimes forced their nominees on him; while when a bishopric itself was vacant the Crown economized by rewarding civil servants with cathedral stalls. This increased the numbers of non-residents, and the affairs of the cathedral came more and more into the hands of a small resident body.

When Henry VIII dissolved the monasteries, the cathedrals hitherto served by monks received a chapter of secular canons instead, and so did the new sees that Henry founded. Early in Queen Victoria's reign the change was completed. A fixed salary was given to residentiary canons, and non-residents of the old type disappeared. Instead, the bishop was allowed to appoint honorary canons or prebendaries, whose titles were a mark of distinguished service, not of an additional income;

henceforth vicars choral and minor canons were not substitutes for absentees, but clergy specially appointed to sing the services.

One would expect the distinction between cathedrals of monks and those of secular canons to be reflected in the buildings that surround them. To some extent it is, for many monastic buildings survive at Canterbury, Durham, Norwich, Worcester, Gloucester and Chester; but the suppression of the monasteries involved destruction and neglect, and in no place are the remains complete. Then again, though secular canons had no need of a cloister, only York and Lichfield of their cathedrals are without one, and in some cases there are other buildings as well, for seculars suffered no suppression and they had to live somewhere. At Lincoln, for instance, you find the Exchequer Gate, the Cantelupe Chantry House, the Chancellor's House, and the remains of the Bishop's Palace and the Vicar's Court; while about the cathedral at Wells most of the officials still live in houses built before the Reformation, and the beautiful Chain Gate links the Vicar's Close with the church in much the same way as did the stairs leading from a monastic dormitory to the transept.

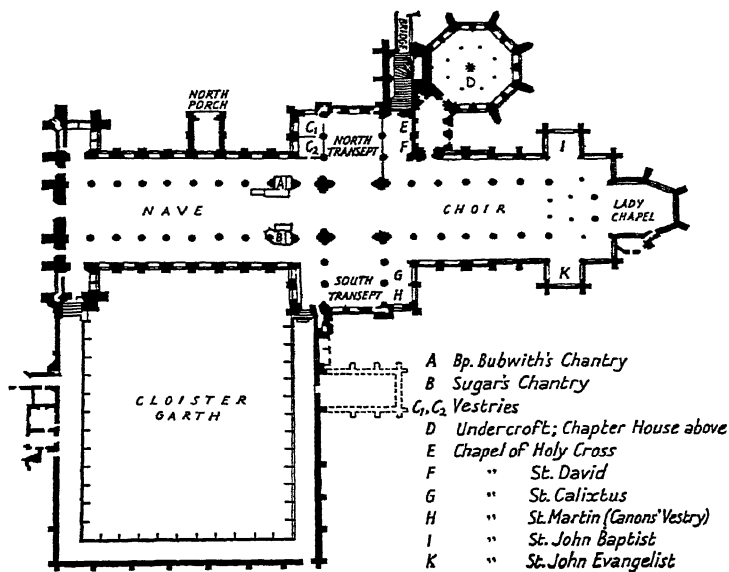
After these general notes on the history and staff of cathedrals, let us turn to the buildings themselves. Unlike a parish church, a cathedral was not so much a place of public worship as of intercession. At the great festivals or in times of distress, crowds of worshippers filled the nave, but the regular service of God was more especially the work of the clergy—the celebration, year in and year out, many times a day, at numerous altars, of the sacrifice of the Mass; the raising of an unceasing fountain of prayer for the souls of the faithful, living and dead. One is often asked why small



parishes have such large churches; the answer is that the builders thought less of the worshippers than of the worship, not so much about the practical means as the noble purpose which they subserved. If this is true of a parish church, how much more so of a cathedral, the mother church of a large district, many of whose scattered inhabitants would never be able to enter its doors.

Bearing these things in mind, we can see that the plan of a cathedral is the result neither of chance nor art but of necessity. We all know that it is in the form of a cross, consisting of nave, east end, and north and south transepts (see Plan, p. 137). The nave and east end always have aisles; the transepts often have aisles on their eastern side, as at Salisbury and Peterborough, sometimes on both east and west, like those of Winchester and Wells. The nave was for the laity, the east end and the transepts for the clergy. The aisles served two purposes: they were avenues for processions, and they afforded room for many altars; for the latter the eastern sides of the transepts were specially convenient, but at Chichester, besides the chapels in the transepts, no less than five were built off the nave aisles. The cathedrals of the Normans generally had a short eastern arm, and may be divided from west to east into three sections, nave, choir and presbytery. The choir was not an architectural division of the building, but the place where the stalls of the monks or canons stood; usually it extended beyond the crossing of the transepts into the nave itself, as it still does at Peterborough and Norwich, and was separated from the western portion of the nave by a screen. The presbytery was the remainder of the eastern arm, between the stalls and the high altar, giving room for the stately ritual of the Mass.

In course of time the short Norman eastern arm or chancel



PLAN OF WELLS CATHEDRAL

was extended, not simply through enthusiasm for rebuilding more magnificently and in a new style, but for practical reasons. Sometimes the cathedral clergy wished to withdraw themselves from the nave; this restricted the space before the high altar, and led to an extension eastwards. A further reason for lengthening the chancel was the need for a processional path right round the east end, from one choir aisle to the other; and even more pressing was the anxiety to find space for still more chapels. Those of pious benefactors and the many saints whom medieval men delighted to honour were often placed in small eastern transepts built out from the chancel, such as you find at Salisbury, Hereford and elsewhere. At Lincoln there are no less than five, two on the north and three on the south, containing seven chapels and chantries; while at Durham the climax was reached with the Chapel of the Nine Altars which occupies the whole of the east end, and may have been inspired by the similar extension at Fountains Abbey (see Plan, facing p. 130). But some cathedrals were fortunate in a benefactor for whom no side chapel was a fitting shrine, and no resting-place sufficiently honourable save that at the back of the high altar. These were the possessors of the body or relics of a holy man, which would attract pilgrims in hundreds, each with an offering. If miracles were worked at the tomb the hundreds became thousands and the offerings provided funds for further building. To house such a shrine worthily and make room for the throngs of worshippers a retrochoir would be built, and the famous Angel Choir of Lincoln is really a memorial chapel for St. Hugh.

The importance of these relics to cathedral chapters was immense, and is reflected in the buildings themselves. In 1282 the bones of Bishop Thomas de Cantilupe were buried

in Hereford Cathedral. He was a saintly man who still wore a hair-shirt after he became a bishop, and it is said that he never allowed even his sister to kiss him. He also stoutly maintained the claims of his see, and upheld against Gilbert Earl of Gloucester his right to capture 'buck, doe, fawn, wild cat, hare, and all birds pertaining thereto' in a tract of forest near the Malvern Hills. The story goes that, when Gilbert approached the casket containing the bones of Thomas, blood flowed from them, and the Earl thereupon restored the land that he had misappropriated. In 1287 miracles began to be performed at the tomb. Sixty-six dead people are said to have been restored to life, and blind, dumb and lepers healed there; what is almost more impressive, Edward I twice sent sick falcons to be cured by the holy relics. For forty years pilgrims flocked to the shrine, and their donations enabled Bishop Richard Swinfield to set up a north porch, rebuild the central tower, eastern transepts, and the whole of the aisles, and improve the lighting by inserting large windows. Funds began to fail after 1327, but only because Abbot Thokey of Gloucester was daring enough to receive the body of the murdered Edward II, at whose tomb miracles also were performed, which deflected to Gloucester the flow of west-country pilgrims.

All over England there is the same story to tell. Eighty years before Thomas de Cantilupe died, a Scotch baker who regularly gave every tenth loaf to the poor set out from Rochester to visit the places where Christ had lived and taught. He was robbed and murdered by his servant, and because of his generosity and holy purpose his body was buried in the cathedral choir, and soon St. William of Perth, as he became, 'wrought miracles plentifully'. So great were the offerings at his shrine that they paid for the

rebuilding of the chancel and transepts. The nave would have been rebuilt too, and a central tower, but the growing fame of St. Thomas of Canterbury gradually drew the pilgrims away; and that is why Rochester nave remains Norman, except for the two eastern bays on which, presumably, the last of the offerings at St. William's tomb were spent. The enduring popularity of the shrine of Thomas Becket is shown by Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, written some two centuries after Becket was murdered. I cannot leave this subject of saintly relics without repeating the tale about St. Alban. His bones had been stolen once by Danish pirates, but restored. Fearing a second raid, the monks of St. Albans sent them for safety to Ely, but when the Danes departed some other bones were taken to St. Albans instead of those of the martyr, which Ely desired to appropriate. But the monks of St. Albans had the last word: they stated that their plan had been a ruse from the start; the bones sent to Ely were not the real ones, which had all the while been safely hidden in a wall of their own church.

There is one more extension commonly made in the eastern arm of cathedrals. In the thirteenth century, linked perhaps with the idea of chivalry, there was a wave of devotion for the Virgin Mary, and lady chapels were built in her honour. Generally they are at the extreme east end, as at Lichfield, Salisbury and Chester; but not always, for at Canterbury the most eastern altar was already dedicated to the Holy Trinity, while at Peterborough it is said that a public road prevented any further extension to the east.

We can now modify our preliminary division of a Norman cathedral into nave, choir and presbytery, and say that in many of our cathedrals there are not three but five or six sections, for beyond the high altar there is sometimes a saint's

shrine, always a retrochoir or ambulatory, and often a lady chapel. At St. Albans all these divisions are peculiarly plain, and overlooking the shrine of the martyr is a watching-loft, erected when the theft of relics was still tempting and profitable. At Norwich, on the other hand, we have a cathedral where there was hardly any extension of the eastern arm at all, for the original plan was particularly well suited to the needs of the Middle Ages. The nave was so long that there was no call to remove the choir-stalls into the chancel; Norwich never had a local saint of note, so it was unnecessary to build a chapel to house his bones; from the first there was a processional aisle behind the high altar, with three chapels radiating from it, so neither retrochoir nor eastern transepts were added; there was even a lady chapel—the central one of the three just mentioned—and the only change was to increase its length when a fire partially destroyed it.

A plan is determined by considerations of utility and convenience, but when you come to visit the building itself you are at once confronted with problems of taste. I will deal first with those that concern the interior, because there are more of them and perhaps they are less obvious. Every one will have noticed that churches are divided by the pillars into bays, and that in cathedrals each bay has three storeys. The lowest of these consists of the main arch and the piers supporting it; the topmost, called the clerestory, of one or more windows; the middle one, or triforium, of an arcade. These three divisions are shown in Plate 19, Fig. 1. The triforium is not an architectural necessity; it does not let in light, for the roof over the aisles is outside it, and though it reduces the weight on the nave arcade and economizes material, its chief purpose is to fill the space between the main arches and the

clerestory. Yet just because its form is not dictated by necessity, but is a matter of choice, it presents us with our first question: What should be the proportions of nave arcade, triforium and clerestory? In some early work, as in the naves of Norwich, Ely and Peterborough, the three storeys are nearly equal; this makes the triforium seem unduly large and heavy. At Gloucester, on the other hand, the columns are 30 feet high. In themselves they are most impressive, but if you look above, the triforium seems in comparison stunted and miserable. The most dignified and satisfying of all early elevations is that of Durham, where the ratio of the three stories is about 2 : 1 : 1. The strength of the supporting pillars emphasizes their function, while each of the divisions above is boldly designed. The same proportions and vigour of design are found at Lichfield, and that is one reason why the interior of this cathedral is so immediately captivating. But experiments of all kinds were tried: at Wells the ratio is 2 : 1 : 2, yet the general effect is peculiarly pleasing; at Oxford, since the walls were only  $41\frac{1}{2}$  feet high, the triforium was placed beneath the main arches; while at St. Davids and York, as in many French cathedrals, the triforium and clerestory are combined. At Worcester or Rochester you can study side by side two different schemes of division, for there old and later work are joined, and at a glance you can take in both.

The next question is: Should the eye be carried along from west to east, or upwards from the base of the pillars to the roof? Here again, the prominence of the triforium is often the deciding factor. At Durham, Peterborough, Southwell and Chichester there is no doubt; the main lines are horizontal. At Wells this is even more marked, for the low triforium is one continuous arcade, not divided into bays, and the unadorned spandrels of the nave arches accentuate the horizon-



2. DURIAM CATHEDRAL.



1. ST. ALBANS CATHEDRAL.





tal line. At Canterbury and Winchester, on the other hand, you must look upward, for the vaulting ribs rise from the ground and are so prominently thrust forward that they draw the gaze with them as do the tall stems of a row of Lombardy poplars. This emphasis on the vertical line is one of the marks of Gothic, above all of French Gothic, and is one reason why French cathedrals have been so highly praised, at the expense of our own. Yet I feel that in architecture, as in politics, the French are slaves of *l'idée fixe*, and that one might say to them, as they sometimes say to us, that the loftiest aspirations do not of themselves compensate for the lack of a sense of security. Between the two extremes of the long view and the upward view there were in England, characteristically, many tentative compromises, often unsuccessful. The nave of York, for instance, is the loftiest in the country; yet the piers were placed so far apart that they do not emphasize its height, and the vaulting ribs are not thrust forward from the wall in a determined way. But in one cathedral we did achieve a triumph of balance. I cannot tell you whether at Exeter I look along or look up: not because the eye is drawn now this way and now that, but because of the exquisite proportions and measured richness of the complete design. If ever architecture were frozen music it is here; there is a perfect union of harmony and counterpoint, of height and length; and I just look, half expecting the stones to burst into song.

This brings us straight to our next question: What proportion should the height bear to the width? Here I will only give some figures, and you must judge for yourself. In most English cathedrals the ratio is 2 : 1, at York it is  $2\frac{1}{2}$  : 1, at Salisbury  $2\frac{1}{2}$  : 1, in Norwich nave  $2\frac{1}{2}$  : 1 and presbytery 3 : 1, and this last is the general proportion in France. If Norwich pleases you best, then on this score the Frenchmen have it;

but I doubt the verdict of the foot-rule, whichever way it goes, for so many and different impressions make up even our simplest general conclusion.

The next problem is really twofold. Should there be an unbroken view from west to east or not? And what about the lantern under the central tower? I do not propose to answer these questions, for different cathedrals affect me in different ways. At Lichfield I delight in the uninterrupted view, ending with the long glowing windows of the lady chapel; yet I would not wish the organ to be moved from the screen at Exeter. In the Middle Ages the ritualistic divisions of a cathedral were all marked by screens, many of which the 'restorer' has swept away, so that Durham has been compared to a vast barn. I do not find it so; there is a naked austerity about it, like that of the trees in winter; yet at Lincoln, as at Exeter, I think of summer foliage, and welcome the screen and the organ to break the light of the huge east window. It is strange how one's mood varies in the same building. Sometimes I have nothing but admiration for the much-damned inverted arches which were added at Wells in the fourteenth century to prevent the fall of the central tower, and they seem a natural and fitting completion of the design of the nave; yet on another day they look like a monstrous gargoyle in the most vivid medieval manner—a fish with eyes like saucers and cavernous gaping mouth, or a bloated ecclesiastical frog. The problem of the lantern is peculiarly English, for the French usually built small transepts and no central tower. One solution is to vault or roof it at the same height as the nave, as was done at Lichfield, and then the eye meets no sudden aerial gulf on its journey from west to east. But even if the roof is placed much higher, when you stand at the west end you are far enough away to perceive no offen-

sive hiatus, and can drink in the long vista at a draught; and when you walk towards the altar, the sudden view of the inside of the tower above you gives pause for contemplation, and brings to mind the mighty pile that you first saw as you approached the city. The lantern may do something more than this; the central tower is the structural justification of our large transepts, and as you gaze across these at York or at Ely the majestic vision silences criticism, and your mind is plunged into a well of content.

Having entered the chancel we can ask our last question: What is the most fitting termination of the east end? To this the French quite early found a better answer than ours. Their cathedrals end with an apse, encircled with a processional aisle from which branches off a *chevet* of chapels. Wherever you stand, the pillars and vaulting afford a prospect of varied beauty, and as you walk round you can imagine that you are taking peeps into some forest glade. Canterbury and Norwich were built after the French manner, and there you can see something of this elegance and fairy grace, compared with which our square east ends are bald and bleak. Yet we have one cathedral which in this respect challenges comparison with any church in Europe. At Wells no lady chapel was added until the fourteenth century, and the architect appears to have built it apart and then joined it to the rest of the chancel (see Plan). He constructed it as an octagon, of which five sides were walled in, while two columns standing in what was to be the retrochoir supported the rest of the vault. But this was only half of his daring plan, for he placed four more piers in a curve about the two disengaged columns, and then vaulted and completed his retrochoir. The result can be stated mathematically. (1) The lady chapel is a vaulted octagon, longer from east to west than from north to south.

(2) Its walled portion is pentagonal. (3) Its two columns standing free in the retrochoir, combined with the four piers that he added, form a hexagon longer from north to south than from east to west. (4) The retrochoir is thus joined on to the rectangular presbytery. But the effect of this variety is an achievement not of mathematics but of the highest art, a bower of loveliness, worthy to be the shrine of the Queen of Heaven. Its designer was a man of genius, who not only solved triumphantly his problem of construction but wrought out of his very difficulties a work of bewitching beauty.

When we go to see a cathedral for the first time we are so anxious to get inside and be 'really there' that we often give the exterior far less attention than it deserves. We have caught glimpses of it from the road or the train, and feel that we are familiar with it already. Then as we plunge into the narrow streets it disappears, and with a whetted appetite we hurry past the grocers' shops and the sellers of antiques and second-hand books, all agog with anticipation. At last it rises before us, and after one long-drinking look and a cursory inspection of the west end we find our way in. Perhaps we are not altogether unwise, for the west fronts of most English cathedrals are rather disappointing. At Winchester, Gloucester, Norwich, Rochester and Worcester they are not fronts at all but just ends; at Hereford and St. Albans they bear the brand of Gothic revivalists; Exeter looks rather like a nesting hen, and Ripon like a bulkier fowl with her breast pecked bare of feathers. Durham is dignified in itself and magnificently situated, but the bishop was guardian of the Scottish border and it has the air of a fortress. At Salisbury, where all else is beautiful, the west front is a muddle; that of Lichfield is nobly designed, but I can never see it without feeling that

the arcades and statuary were added to the bare wall out of a tube, as one applies ornamental icing to a cake; and even at York, where there was every opportunity, the structural lines are not enough emphasized, the magnificent central window is too large, and the eye finds no rest amid a mass of conflicting decoration.

Perhaps the trouble is that a façade must be designed and completed as a unit; no amount of tinkering will remedy a false step, and it needs great resolution, skill and funds to pull down so massive an erection and begin all over again. That, maybe, is why the French have succeeded better than we have with their west fronts. Many of their great cathedrals were completed in one long and prolific building period in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and while the inspiration lasted they evolved a façade which they were prepared to take as a type. To give only one instance, you see at Notre Dame de Paris an elevation rich yet restrained. The deep porches and prominent buttresses mark the division into nave and aisles; two bands of arcading bind the whole together; and the towers with their long slender windows crown the majestic design. Even in France there was no uniform success. At Coutances, where there is so much to delight in, the western towers are overloaded with pinnacles, and beneath them there is an assemblage of parts rather than an ordered composition; while Sées is 'bald and unconvincing', and Lisieux consists of three vertical divisions that do not coalesce. And even in England we have had our triumphs. I do not include Lincoln, for its façade is an enormous transplanted reredos and simply takes my breath away; but I regard the west front of Peterborough as one of the grandest achievements of Gothic art, and I could gaze at that of Wells until long after the sun had gone down.

Each has been decried for the same reason, that it is not 'logical'; that is to say, it is wider than the nave behind it, and so not a mere end. I have not much patience with this argument; if it were logically applied it would condemn the noble portals and tall doors of France because they are larger than the human frame; it would reduce every cathedral from three storeys to one, because we stand on the ground to worship. Peterborough is not only inspired but practical. The three mighty arches need support on the outside, and therefore the flanking towers were built; the isolated pillars might fall on us as we approach them, and so a further tower was built over the western bay of each aisle to check the thrust of the long nave. The central gable had to be narrower than the others because it is the gable of the nave roof; hence the prominent pinnacles on either side of it, which render it more imposing and at the same time balance the spirelets on the flanking towers. Once more the architect has wrested beauty from the obstacles in his path. The west front of Wells has been accused of other failings than lack of logic: squatness, insignificance of the doors and windows, lack of variety. If you inspect it bit by bit you can see why. But a façade is not meant to be studied piecemeal; it can be taken in at a glance, and, like a face, has a winning or vacant or repellent expression. That of Wells won my heart when first I saw it by its calm, candid, steadfast look, and I could spend my days within sight of it untired and well content.

The east ends of our cathedrals, like the west, are as a whole inferior to those of France, either because of their flatness, as at York, or from lack of unity. Only at Norwich have we anything to compare with, say, Coutances, and Norwich reveals French influence. But at Wells out of a diversity

of parts there is achieved a mellow harmony essentially English, and Salisbury has great beauty of a cooler and stricter kind.

When we look at the profiles of our cathedrals there is another tale to tell. They are of two main types, but of amazing diversity. The one sort has a roof of the same height from west to east, like York, Lincoln, Ely or Durham, and depends for its beauty on clean, sweeping lines against the sky, bold transepts, and the proportion between the central and western towers. These cathedrals sail the landscape like great ships, or lie like lions, wakeful but at rest. St. Paul's is one of them. Wren was not allowed to use the design of his choice, and what he built is as Gothic in plan as Lincoln. Therefore, from the inside, his dome is only a huge lantern at the crossing, one feature instead of the clue to the whole design, and so he had to build an inner dome, in order that it might not be too high for the vaulted roof of the church. But once you are in the open air all is changed. The dome dominates London. It seems to gather to itself the shipping in the river, the traffic of the streets, the smoke of factories and thousands of household fires, the newsboy's cry and the statesman's deliberations. Built in an alien style, in a city where men of all nations meet, it is yet English of the English, the fitting crown of the capital of an empire.

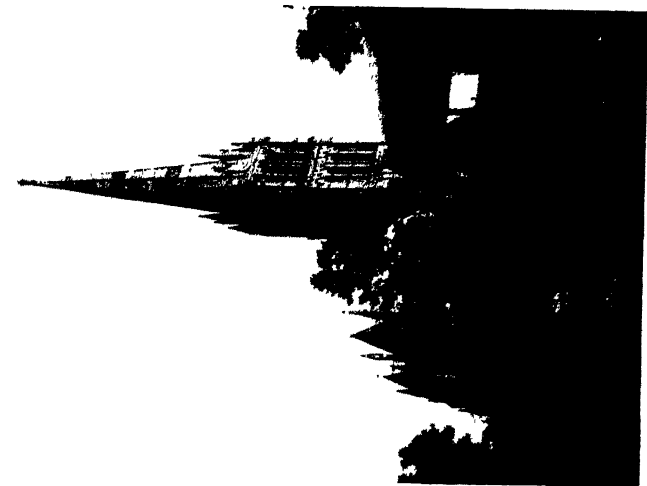
But there is another England, a greener and sleepier England smelling of apples and animals, where the moon is still a lantern and parliament meets in an inn. Here is the native soil of our second type of cathedral, in which east of the high altar the roof descends in stages to the lady chapel, as at Salisbury and Wells. Seen in profile these cathedrals seem to have grown out of the ground, and to burst into bloom with central tower or spire. Alter the proportions a



little, stunt the tower as at Winchester, and the beauty vanishes, but as they stand they are perfect.

In France there is nothing to compare with Ely and York of the one type, or Salisbury of the other. Everything has been sacrificed to height, and as a result the typical French cathedral resembles a glorified box or a palatial dog-kennel. The very loftiness becomes ugly when seen in mass from the outside, and if you walk up the rue de l'Hôtel-Dieu towards the church of St. Vulfran at Abbeville, beneath its vast bulk you may feel, as I did, very like a small dog: insignificant indeed, but far from humble. The cathedrals of England, if I have read them aright, make one feel humble rather than insignificant, and in their infinite variety of outline remind us how diverse are the ways of approach to God, how many the mansions in His house.

I had thought to write about the influence of cathedrals on the style of the churches around them; of their beauty when seen from the air; of cathedral closes; of the delicate carving, especially in the chapter houses, such as you can see in Plate 20, Fig. 2; of 'restorers' like Wyatt 'the destroyer' and the amazing Lord Grimthorpe; of vergers, music, tombs. But already the chapter is over-long and I will add only this. By birth and upbringing I am a moderate Protestant, but not in a cathedral. There my desire is not to take part in the service, pay attention to the sermon, listen to the lessons. The mighty and ocean-like music of the organ reveals the mystery of the Holy and Indivisible Trinity; the singing of the choir-boys, that purest of all earthly sounds, liberates the spirit from the bonds of flesh. I have no wish even to pray, but just to worship; and if I might choose my hour and place of death, I would choose this.



1. SALISBURY CATHEDRAL



2. SOUTHWELL CATHEDRAL, ENTRANCE  
TO CHAPTER-HOUSE



## FURTHER READING

FRANCIS BOND, *English Cathedrals Illustrated* (Newnes, out of print).

Still, to my mind, the best introduction to English cathedrals; it can be bought second-hand.

A. HAMILTON THOMPSON, *The Cathedral Churches of England* (S.P.C.K. 8s. 6d.). Valuable on personnel and organization.

Mrs. VAN RENSSELAER, *Handbook of Twelve English Cathedrals* (out of print, but occasionally to be had second-hand). She is a fine and spirited word-painter.

*Notes on the Cathedrals* (S.P.C.K., threepence each).

A. CLUTTON BROCK, *The Cathedral Church of York* (Bell, 2s.). I have found this book most valuable for its sympathetic and clear treatment of the broad questions of construction and taste. There is now, I believe, a new edition by a different author, but I have not seen it. The whole of 'Bell's Cathedral Series' are useful and interesting.

## XI

### THE ENGLISH HOUSE—THE PLAN

‘Is it more fantastic to classify men by the kind of house in which they live than to classify snails by their shells?’

O. G. S. CRAWFORD.

IN these three chapters on English homes it is not proposed to begin at the beginning. Saxon houses no longer exist; those of Norman date can be counted on the fingers; and neither they nor, still less, the castle keeps in which nobles and knights lived in safety and discomfort, had much influence on the development of dwellings in this country. Nor had the homes of the poor. The rudest of these were not unlike the Saxon huts described on p. 49; the better sort were two-roomed cottages, a type which has survived without great change to our own day.

The real origin of English houses is to be found in the manor-house of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. I have only just recognized that the homes in which I spent most of my boyhood were in general arrangements very like those of the Middle Ages, except that their front door was in the middle and ours was at one end. The Edwardian houses of which I am speaking began with a passage leading through to the kitchen; off this passage opened doors into the drawing-room (the ‘front room’) and the dining-room, or sitting-room as we called it, for we did much there besides eat. Upstairs the front bedroom was for the parents, the middle one for the children (we were a small family), and that over the kitchen was the maid’s when we had a maid. The centre of the house, like the stomach in the human body, was the dining-room; at the back of it the meals were pre-

pared; and in front was a room where one could withdraw to digest them. The entrance had to be in front, because the house was one of a row; but if my home could have been lifted out and set down by itself, turned round sideways, and an entrance made into the dining-room, its layout would have been strikingly similar to that of the homes of children who grew up and fought in an earlier 'Great War', the Hundred Years War with France.

Let us look at the plan of one of these older houses (Fig. 1). In the centre, and by far the largest room, was the Hall. It was entered through a passage called the Screens; this passage was roofed, and the top of the roof made a platform. The use of this is not known, though it is generally called the 'Minstrels' Gallery' and may well have served for musicians. At the other end of the hall was the dais, on which stood the 'high table' where the lord and lady of the house sat with their more distinguished guests; the tables for servants and visitors of lesser rank were at right angles to this, in the body of the hall (Plate 25, Fig. 1). The fire burned on an open hearth in the centre, and the smoke hung about the room, except such as floated through the louvre in the roof; but wood-smoke is the incense of hospitality; its pleasing flavour clings about some of our villages even to-day, and perhaps it mildly discouraged the vigorous insect life of an insanitary age.

Beyond the screens lay the kitchen, and in large establishments there might be a pastry or bakehouse, pantry, and buttery for beer and wine; above these rooms there was sometimes accommodation for a few of the upper servants. At the other end of the hall, a door led from the dais to the Solar, or withdrawing room of the master and mistress; this was usually upstairs, with an undercroft on the ground floor,

perhaps used as a storehouse. At Penshurst in Kent there is a peep-hole from the solar into the hall, so that the lord could keep an eye on what was going on below; the custodian who shows you round will point out with a knowing look that the peep-hole is placed to one side, so as to give a full view through the screens to the door of the buttery.<sup>1</sup> There are no better or more accessible examples of medieval halls with their 'screens' than those of many Oxford and Cambridge colleges.

It will be seen that the hall, which was of one storey only, a vast room with an open timber roof, was the link between the family and the servants, and throughout the Middle Ages that link remained unbroken. All meals were served there, and except for those actually waiting at table everybody sat down to eat together. The whole household was in a true sense a family, and the hall was the general 'common room' where every one felt at ease. After the food was cleared away work was done and games played; and at night, when the lord and lady and perhaps the butler had retired to their chambers, men and women and dogs made themselves snug among the rushes and slept in the glow of the fire.

So important in the life of the home was the hall that many large houses are still called Halls. Haddon Hall in Derbyshire is one, and Joseph Nash—whose *Mansions of England in the Olden Time* brings them before us furnished and alive with people—has in that book a drawing of the festivities at Haddon Hall after the Christmas banquet, with 'minstrels' and morris dancers, the hobby-horse, and a 'dragon' pursuing a pet monkey.

For the rest of the Middle Ages this simple house-plan persisted. It was adequate for all but the wealthiest, and easy





<sup>1</sup> The Hall at Penshurst was built in 1341.

for them to extend. Those who desired more accommodation had simply to build two new wings at right angles to the existing dwelling, one from the solar containing a chapel, the other a set of apartments for guests, connected with the kitchen. If these two wings were joined by a wall with a gatehouse in it, the owner had a complete courtyard which could be surrounded by a moat for greater security (Fig. 3).

Up to the beginning of the Tudor period changes in plan had been the result of organic growth rather than deliberate design, but the Renaissance brought to England self-consciousness in house-building, while the Reformation and the destruction of the monasteries checked the building of churches and supplied the newly promoted Tudor nobility—most males of the old baronial houses having been killed off in the Wars of the Roses—with funds and materials to erect stately mansions in the modern style. The details of the changes that came in will be shown in the next two chapters, but in general we can say that domestic architecture became more formal, and this is to be seen in the plan. The ‘courtyard house’ already described was still a favourite; but it was designed as a whole and not piecemeal, some care was taken to achieve symmetry in detail as well as in general effect, and now that the Wars of the Roses were ended there was less need for protection from raids and the aspect of houses was made inviting and not forbidding. A few changes had come about: the hall kept its old place, but the dais end was now lighted by a large bay-window, as at Hampton Court, and the central hearth was done away with, a fireplace being made in one of the side walls, sometimes half-way down the hall and sometimes nearer to the high table for the family’s comfort. In Elizabeth’s reign this last precaution was less necessary,



for the family began to desert the hall to take their meals in a smaller private dining-room and amuse themselves in the 'winter parlour'; while if the master of a great house was peevish he could go upstairs and stamp up and down his new 'long gallery' until his temper had cooled. It is difficult to discover what other regular use these immense rooms can have had. Some of them were forty or fifty yards in length, and they can only occasionally have been required for music or exercise (save by the children), while collecting pictures was not yet a fashionable hobby. Perhaps the truth is that they afforded a means of satisfying the Elizabethan craving for magnificent display.

The layout of the larger houses of Elizabeth's day can best be understood from the drawings of John Thorpe at the Soane Museum in Lincoln's Inn Fields. We know little of Thorpe, save that he was 'an excellent geometrician and surveyor', and many of his drawings seem to be taken from the designs of other men, but they do show the sort of houses in which the queen was expensively entertained by her courtiers. Besides the courtyard and double courtyard types there are plans in the shape of half an H , an E , a whole H , or a double E . It has been suggested that the E plan was a compliment to the queen. More probably it was dictated by convenience, for the small central arm of the E was the natural addition of a porch at the main entrance. But the Elizabethans loved conceits, and would be quick to make a growing custom an excuse for flattering Gloriana. Mansions like these were also built in the reign of James I; there is much general similarity between Montacute in Somerset (1580) and Aston Hall near Birmingham (finished in 1635), both of which are open to the public and can be enjoyed at leisure. But one feature of Aston Hall is a sign of changing times. Thorpe

made a plan of it with the entrance at one end of the hall, through the screens. But when the house was completed twenty years after his death the door was placed plumb in the centre, dividing the hall in two, and no screens were built; so that this huge room lost all privacy and could not be used as a living-room, but served only as an enormous lobby where guests might leave their cloaks and swords before they joined the family.

So much for the homes of the great. The middle classes still dwelt in hall and solar, though by now a second floor had been made above the hall and there were more rooms to sleep in. For the poor there were cottages and hovels. The cottages were at least wind-proof and cosy; all over England you can still find them, and at some you can call and buy your tea. They are likely to outlast hundreds of other small houses 'put up' when they were already quite two centuries old. Here let me mention a picture from *Punch*. It does not concern the plan of a house, but it is the English damnation of all 'jerry-building', and I hope may one day be not a comment but an epitaph. Two men are standing in neighbouring rooms:

'Can you 'ear me, Bill?'

'Yus.'

'Can yer see me?'

'No.'

'Then I reckon this is a good wall.'

Up to this point, although details of Renaissance ornament were learned abroad and grafted on to houses of English plan, there had been a steady and unbroken tradition of domestic architecture. But in James I's reign England suffered an invasion. She was invaded by Inigo Jones; not a mere man but an Architect, armed with Italian plans and followed by other

architects with similar weapons. These men, disciples of Andrea Palladio, built the great houses of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries according to the rules of his art, and for two hundred years national tradition was banished from the estates of the landed gentry and the princes of commerce who aped them.

Inigo Jones returned to England from Italy in 1615, and seven years later had built the Banqueting Hall at Whitehall in a style completely un-English. For some years it remained solitary in its undoubted splendour. It has been pointed out that Aston Hall was built on traditional lines; but the deposition from its old pride of place of the *hall* in that house marked a break with the past. The magnitude of the change can be seen from the plan of Coleshill in Berkshire (Fig. 4), built from Inigo's designs only fifteen years after Aston Hall was finished. The house is in shape an unadorned rectangle. A large hall, now plainly a vestibule, contains a double staircase and leads into a reception room of the same size; these two occupy a third of the ground floor, and are flanked on one side by a drawing-room and a parlour, on the other by bedrooms. The dining-room is upstairs, but it was becoming more general to devote the whole of the ground floor to living-rooms and to keep sleeping accommodation apart. No kitchen or servants' quarters appear on the plan, for the servants had been banished 'below stairs' into a basement, whence they emerged only to perform their duties or to tramp up to bed in an attic under the roof. This restriction of the domestic staff to the uppermost and nethermost regions continued throughout the eighteenth century.

The compactness of Coleshill was not always imitated in the seats of the mighty. Inigo Jones was a man of genius and an artist, who never forgot that restraint is among the wisest

lessons to be learned from a classical training, but his successors confused the grand and the grandiose. The publication of a number of books on ancient architecture stimulated aristocratic amateurs to try their hand at designing. Sir John Vanbrugh, the poet, for instance, planned the vast piles of Blenheim Palace and Castle Howard; if you ran round the main building of Castle Howard you would cover some 600 yards, and Blenheim is farther round still. Pope hit the nail on the head when the Palace was described to him:

'Tis very fine,  
But where d'ye sleep, or where d'ye dine?  
I see from all you have been telling  
That 'tis a house, but not a dwelling.

One fashion in particular, lasting from about 1670 to 1750, proves the extent to which outward show was preferred to convenience and comfort. Houses were designed with a central block and two widely spread wings, symmetrically disposed, one for the kitchen and the other for the stables, joined to the main building by long colonnades (Fig. 5). Swift was alive then, and we must suppose that he at least would have enjoyed the smell of the horses, but he would have had a word for the cold soup and clammy fish unless his host took care to get them warmed up on their long journey from the kitchen to the table.

Some town houses of this period reflect the passion for spacious discomfort. Can you imagine the Royal Academy as your own home? Yet Lord Burlington, one of the most famous amateurs, lived there. He also designed for General Wade a house in Burlington Street which provoked the witty Lord Chesterfield to suggest that, as the General could not live comfortably inside it, he should take a house opposite

and admire it from a safe distance. But the majority of town houses were saved from extravagance by lack of space. The smaller ones had an entrance passage with staircase opposite, and the reception rooms were arranged in pairs. The servants lived in the basement, and there are hundreds of attic and basement houses in London, which have been copied at the seaside. The brothers Adam built some of the best of them. These architects are most renowned for their exterior and interior decoration, but they planned with equal care. They gave variety by the use of octagonal and curved rooms and alcoves, and their rooms, though light and airy, were free from draughts and not too large to be warmed.

Meanwhile the common sense which has never deserted all Englishmen at once was producing the homes of moderate size and moderation in design that give an ordered dignity to our cathedral cities and country towns. These are the houses built in what is loosely but not inaptly called the Queen Anne style; they are inhabited by doctors, lawyers, maiden ladies and retired business men. In the small country house of this type the basement was often done away with; sometimes the kitchen and servants' quarters were placed in a subordinate wing; or else the hall and staircase, sitting-rooms, kitchen, back-kitchen and pantry were all built in one block on the ground floor. It is this type of house which restored a tradition to English domestic architecture; and the tradition has lasted to our own day, for despite the external innovations of Grecian and Gothic revivalists there have been no more important changes of plan.

My last sentence brings me with some abruptness to the present time, and I should like to attempt a brief summary.

It will concern small houses, for most of us live in such, and the design of large ones is not limited by slender means and restricted space. It seems to me that all small houses can be divided into two types, the Cocked Hat and the Biretta. A longish house like the Hall-house of the Middle Ages is a Cocked Hat as worn by Napoleon and Nelson, parallel to the shoulders; a longish house in a row of houses, like those I used to live in, is a Cocked Hat as worn by Wellington, pointing the same way as his nose. A Biretta is a squarish house, like those of the Queen Anne type. In Figs. 6 and 7 you can see simplified plans of a Biretta and a Napoleonic Cocked Hat—Napoleonic because you do not want to live in a row. These plans are undetailed and are only for you to have in mind for a minute or two while I ask you a few questions. I am going to assume that you are about to be married, and to build, buy or rent a house. Even if it is to be a flat or a bungalow the questions will be the same, for bungalows and flats are either Cocked Hats or Birettas.

1. Is a bungalow cheaper than a house to build? I am going to answer that myself: not if it is to be permanent, for the extra foundations and roofing will cost more than a staircase and landing.

2. Are you going to have (*a*) a maid who sleeps in, (*b*) one who sleeps out, (*c*) none? If (*b*) or (*c*) the kitchen can be smaller than if (*a*).

3. How many hours a day do you spend downstairs (*a*) at meals, (*b*) in every other way? Very well; then make the dining-room small and the living-room as large as possible.

4. Is the larder (*a*) cool, (*b*) near the kitchen?

5. Is the kitchen (*a*) light, (*b*) stuffy, (*c*) draughty?

6. Is there a service hatch from kitchen to dining-room?

If not, how far does the food have to come?

7. Does the smell of brussels sprouts penetrate to the living-room?

8. Are the chimneys (*a*) on inside walls, (*b*) high enough to prevent smoking?

9. Is the bathroom big enough, and the bath long enough?

10. Is the staircase wide enough to take the furniture that you will need in the bedrooms?

11. Will the windows open and shut properly? If there are bay windows, have they a window-seat?

12. Is there (*a*) enough, (*b*) too much, clearance between doors and their frames?

13. Are meters and tanks (*a*) unobtrusive, (*b*) easy to get at?

14. Which water-pipes are likely to be frozen in hard weather? In any case, where is the north-east?

15. Are the drainage and sanitation adequate?

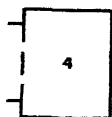
16. Are there enough cupboards?

17. What about the coal?

18. Is the garden on the sunny side of the house? Does it expose you to the inquisitiveness of your neighbours?

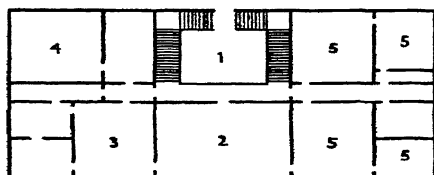
Dear reader, perhaps you have been happily married for twelve years and have five children; or perhaps you are a misogynist bachelor in lodgings. In either case pardon my asking so many questions; please forget that they were addressed to you, but when next you visit an old house step across the threshold into the days in which the house was built, imagine that it is to be your home, and as you look about you, ask the questions of yourself.

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2. *Exterior of Hall-house, with no upper storey to the Hall and no projection of upper storeys of wings*

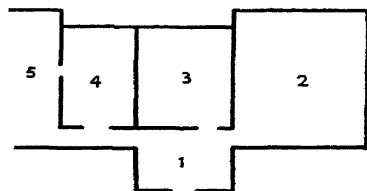
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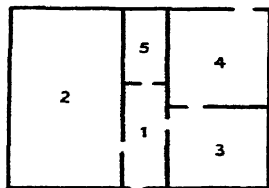
4. Plan of Coleshill, Berkshire 1650.

1. Hall.
2. Reception Room.
3. Drawing Room.
4. Parlour.
5. Bedrooms.



5. "Cocked Hat" House.

1. Hall and stairs
2. Living Room.
3. Dining Room.
4. Kitchen.
5. Scullery and offices.



7. "Biretta" House.

1. Hall and stairs.
2. Living Room
3. Dining Room.
4. Kitchen - scullery.
5. Lavatory.

## PLANS OF HOUSES





## XII

### THE ENGLISH HOUSE—THE EXTERIOR

'Windows are eyes of buildings; they are either demure and modest, forward and leering, stern and official, or delicate and inviting.'

A. E. RICHARDSON and H. D. EBERLEIN.

If you turn back to Fig. 2 at the end of the last chapter, you will see a sketch of a hall-house of the fourteenth century. The hall is in the middle, and the gabled wings contain the solar and the kitchen. It has an inviting look, and houses like it were built from the days of the Black Prince and Chaucer till those of Cromwell and Milton. *Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose* might have been the motto of this long-lived family, and there is a marked likeness between one generation and another, but they have a variety like Cleopatra's which custom cannot stale.

During the fifteenth century some one thought of making the upper storey of the cross-wings overhang the wall below. This projection, with the curved braces supporting it, gives a pleasing profile to a building and is structurally sound, while before the use of gutters it must have protected the lower part of the wall from rain dripping off the roof. Whenever you come across an old house of this sort you may be confident that it was built not later than 1650. Two hundred years before this, people who wanted more bedrooms had begun to construct the hall with an upper storey, so any hall-house that you discover without a central upper storey was probably built as early as 1450. Beyond this one cannot give any general guidance on the question of date; but if the windows or door show distinct architectural features, these can be dated by comparison with those of churches, for in

early days there was not one style for God's house and another for those of His creatures, and the details of houses and churches differed only in elaborateness. When we come to the sixteenth century, nearly all halls were built with an upper storey, and older houses without one were modernized by the addition of a bedroom or two, as you will see in Plate 21, Fig. 2. As a rule the roof of the early hall which had no rooms above was not so high as that of the gabled cross-wings (Plate 21, Fig. 1), but in the sixteenth century the roof-ridge was generally made at the same level throughout the house, and sometimes the wings had no gables in front at all and the house looked like our old friend a Noah's Ark.

Builders always used local materials, and that is why, mellowed by time, these houses and the cottages their companions have become one with the landscape in which they stand. The west and north are the stone-built areas. At Tintagel in Cornwall you can look over a very small stone hall-house of the fourteenth century, now in the care of the National Trust. Stone cottages and farms are also found right across the midlands along the line of the oolite ridge; nowhere are they more attractive than in the Cotswolds, and in the High Street of Burford you can see the varied work of English builders during at least four centuries. One house has a vaulted cellar, another a door ornamented with ball-flower; and the Elizabethan and Stuart buildings seem comparative new-comers.

In the districts with no good building-stone there were once oaks in plenty, and timber-framed houses are characteristic of southern and central England. They are very decorative; the eye rests with pleasure on their simple pattern of black and white, their carved corner-posts, doorways and gables. Where naturally curved beams or 'crucks' could be



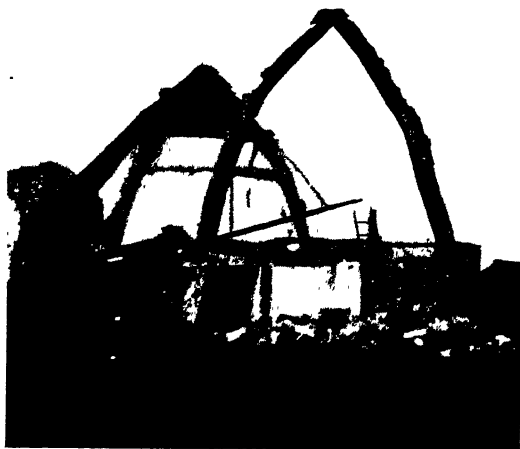
1. GREAT WALTHAM, ESSEX. HOUSE AT HOW STREET



2. GREAT WALTHAM, ESSEX. GARNETT'S FARM



1. ST. CROSS HOSPITAL, WINCHESTER



2. DONINGTON-LE-HEATH, LEICESTERSHIRE.  
'CRUCK' CONSTRUCTION

obtained of sufficient size, they were used as the mainstay of the end of a house, and stretched from the ground to the roof-ridge; in Plate 22, Fig. 2, you can see the crucks still standing after the rest of a cottage had been demolished. The other timbers are the long horizontal beams which separate one storey from the next, the uprights or 'studs', and the curved braces used sometimes to strengthen the corners and sometimes to make a pleasing pattern. Generally the spaces between the studs were filled with a framework of wattle and daub, or at a later date of lath and plaster, of which the mouldering remains are exposed to view in many a ruinous dwelling. Nowhere in England can a greater variety of timber-framed homes be seen than in the village of Newport near Saffron Walden. Two in particular illustrate the methods of building. In one of these the studs are close together for two-thirds of the length, and for the rest much wider apart; this shows that the house was extended in the sixteenth century, when it would appear that the supply of timber was diminishing, as it was always used more sparingly. Later still the compartments between the oak beams were made much larger, and square in shape. The other house, called 'Monk's Barn', has brick 'nogging' between the studs, a pleasing herring-bone arrangement sometimes copied in modern fireplaces. Many of the cottages at Newport show no beams at all, but only the plaster with which the walls were generally protected. Too often well-intentioned 'restorers' strip off this covering and expose the black and white beneath, hoping to recapture what they fondly imagine to be the original look of a house; but the old builders knew the English climate, and gave their work an overcoat which it is silly to tear off just for appearance's sake.

This outer garment was not always of plaster. In all the

Home counties, and Essex in particular, overlapping 'weatherboarding' was much used, a term that explains itself. Alternatively, the outside was covered with boards and on these were nailed 'shingles' or slats of oak about 10 inches by 4; these were never sawn, but cleft along the grain with an adze, for sawn timber does not endure the weather so well. In Kent, Sussex, and especially Surrey, tiles were hung on the walls, and very picturesque and serviceable they are; while in the north-west, Wales, Devon and Cornwall, slates were employed in a similar way.

Even homelier materials than these have held together for hundreds of years. Devonshire 'cobb' cottages, like those at Awliscombe, were made of clay mixed with straw; they are warm in winter and cool in summer, and what is more are dry. At Haddenham in Buckinghamshire many of the old houses are built of 'wichert', chalk mud mixed with chopped straw, a composition that dries hard and is durable, while in Sussex dozens of cottages at and around Amberley and Steyning are of 'clunch', a tough form of chalk. Recently I happened to be at Coggeshall in Essex when three seventeenth-century cottages were being pulled down, and begged some of the filling between the studs; it was nothing but mud, with straw to bind it, and a stiffening of wattled hazel sticks, not unlike those we use to train up our beans in the garden.

There is an individuality in roofs, too. We are all familiar with slates, tiles both straight and curved, and the thatch that gives such an opportunity for the craftsman to display his taste and skill. A rarer covering is that of *stone* slates; their use is of long standing, for the Romans employed them in the first century A.D., as you can see at Wroxeter and Chedworth. They make the perfect crown for the stone houses of the Cotswolds, where a blue slate roof has an alien look.

There were stately homes as well as simple in medieval days, and at Haddon Hall and Wingfield Manor in Derbyshire, or South Wraxall in Wiltshire, you can see them still. But it was only in the reign of Henry VIII that the erection of mansions became a passion, and we will now look at some of the great houses built between Wolsey's fall in 1529 and the death of Shakespeare in 1616. The end of the monasteries was their beginning; Grimsthorpe Castle in Lincolnshire, for instance, was built by the Duke of Suffolk when he wished to entertain the sovereign through whom he had obtained so much of the monastic plunder.

As a rule the houses of this period conform to a pattern, and their variety lies mainly in the materials. The famous Cheshire Halls of Bramhall and Little Moreton are palaces in black and white. Those of the stone districts are stone-built, but with a difference: carboniferous limestone is hard and cold grey in colour, so north-country houses like Eyam Hall in Derbyshire are unadorned and bleak; whereas along the Jurassic ridge that I mention so often the houses built of the less obstinate oolite are richer in design and warmer in tint. One of the chief materials of this period is brick. I have already mentioned the use of brick 'nogging' in the smaller houses, and we know that as early as the thirteenth century bricks were made in clayey Essex; but it was in Tudor days that they were first widely employed. Their very smallness gives texture to a wall, and differences in colour and smoothness afford variety even without the aid of ornament, while greater diversity can easily be achieved by making patterns with black bricks, or using stone for the porch, windows and quoins, as was constantly done. The bricks of those days were thinner than ours and the bonding was not the same. That is to say, they were laid in a different way. If



you look at a wall built before the reign of Queen Anne, you will generally find that one row of bricks consists of 'headers' and the next of 'stretchers'; in other words one row shows all ends and the next all sides. This arrangement is called English bond. In the eighteenth century Flemish bonding was usual, and in each row headers and stretchers were placed alternately. Flemish bond is still common to-day, but you may also see row upon row of stretchers, the only care being to avoid making the joints one above the other, or there would be no bonding at all and the wall would split. Bearing these changes in mind, and noting the texture and depth of the bricks, you can often trace the hand of the repairer.

I have said that Tudor and early Stuart houses conform to a pattern. It was a musical age, and we may compare them to similar chords played in different keys. Each chord had four notes: porch, windows, gables and chimneys; and if it be not too fanciful—after all, your Elizabethan loved conceits—the hand of the player combining the notes was the cornice with which the architect bound his units together in a harmonious façade. Let us sound the notes one by one. The Renaissance entered England by skirmishers before Inigo Jones disembarked its battalions, and they seized at once upon the porch; the square-headed doorway persisted doggedly, but many round arches are to be seen, and round and square alike were flanked by classical pillars or pilasters of an Italianate type. The windows, with rare exceptions, held out to the end; the influence of the Renaissance appears in their *disposition*, for they were now regarded as units in an orderly composition seen from outside, one means of achieving symmetry. Of course the bay window and the oriel gave variety, but the windows as a whole were balanced one with another,

as at Hardwick Hall in Derbyshire, where some four hundred panes of glass confront you with a forbidding stare. From the thought of this I turn with relief to the jolly gables, some straight, some with alternate convex and concave curves and now and then a right-angle between them, others of the 'crowsfoot' sort, in which each side ascends like a flight of stairs, as at Plâs Mawr, Conway, or the little church in Plate 9, Fig. 1. Where there were no gables, or few, a parapet took their place; this is the case at Hardwick Hall, where the famous 'Bess' set up her initials, E. S. for Elizabeth Shrewsbury and a coronet above, so that you might know the name and quality of the lady whose house frowns at you so fixedly. Let us leave her again, and look at the chimneys. Like the windows they are symmetrically grouped, and become plainer as we approach the seventeenth century, but their tall shafts lighten the effect of the mass beneath and lead the eye graciously to the upper air.

Hitherto English houses, whether stately or simple, had all been expressions of national character, which no borrowings from abroad could hide; but the invasion of Inigo Jones, described in Chapter XI, split domestic architecture into two channels. The great, who could afford to build on a magnificent scale and already were familiar with details of the revived classical style, surrendered with a good grace and built themselves Palladian mansions. The humble, with modest resources and more insular temper, struggled along according to the old tradition, taking an idea here and there from what was new but moulding it to their own comfort and sense of the fitting. The remarkable thing is that in this second channel innovations were adapted, acclimatized and absorbed, until the national idiom triumphed once more in the smaller

'Queen Anne' house.<sup>1</sup> The watershed between these two channels is the famous Coleshill House in Berkshire. It is the parent of Palladian mansion and smaller house alike, for it combines stateliness and elegance with a certain downright simplicity; it is large but not outlandish, and a wealthy family living there could feel at home.

I do not like the Palladian style, but here are some examples of it from various parts of the country, in order that you may judge for yourself if your holiday takes you near them:

Carclew, near Truro, Cornwall, 1749.

Haldon House, Devon, *c.* 1750.

Bowood Park, near Calne, Wiltshire, designed by the brothers Adam.

Broadlands, near Romsey, Hampshire.

Mersham Hatch, near Ashford, Kent. (A brick house; it is said that three million bricks were needed to build it.)

Woburn Abbey, 1746, and Southill, 1795, Bedfordshire.

Middle Claydon Manor House, Buckinghamshire, designed by the brothers Adam.

Blenheim Palace, Oxfordshire, between 1704 and 1725.

Holme Lacy, Herefordshire.

Tabley House, Cheshire, *c.* 1770.

Shugborough Hall, Staffordshire.

Houghton Hall, 1735, and Holkham Hall, Norfolk.

North Front of Grimsthorpe Castle, Lincolnshire, 1722.

Chatsworth, Derbyshire, 1685-1706.

Castle Howard, Yorkshire, 1714.

Howick Hall, Northumberland.

These houses have undoubted merits. They are handsome and dignified; and in decoration, if not in size or plan, they show the restraint demanded by Inigo Jones. 'The outward

<sup>1</sup> Some Palladian mansions, like Blenheim, were built in the reign of Queen Anne; wherever I have used, for convenience, the term 'Queen Anne' house, it refers only to the smaller houses of that period.

ornament', he wrote, 'is to be solid, proportionable according to rule, masculine and unaffected', and this the architects of the eighteenth century achieved. I do not accept my distaste for their work with equanimity, but even after making deductions for insular prejudice and a certain restlessness of spirit, I am convinced that the majority of their buildings are second-rate. For one thing, they lost sight of common sense. Classical architecture grew in sunny Greece; we can transplant it here, but not the climate in which it thrived, and great pillared porticoes shut out the light of day, and offer in return only a cloistered shade that one seldom desires. You may say that medieval builders also abandoned common sense when they set up large and lofty churches in little villages. But religion transcends the practical; it is well to humble oneself before God, but I do not wish to worship my house. My other objection to the Palladian mansion is on the score of its dignity. Natural dignity is admirable, but in the great houses of the eighteenth century dignity is not inherent and spontaneous; it is a studied attribute, laboriously achieved according to formula, at the sacrifice of convenience and comfort. By all means let a great man inhabit a great house, and a learned man a learned house, and an artist an artistic house; but even a public man wishes to live in a private house. He can conduct his business and deliver his speeches with the dignity proper to the occasion; but then his desire is to lay formality aside, to become an ordinary being and seek ease and refreshment with his family. He wants to go home.

If he lived in a 'Queen Anne' house he would have a home to go to. When I took the photograph of Salisbury Cathedral reproduced in Plate 20, Fig. 1, my mind was set on other things than houses. The sun had come out after a heavy

shower, the air was fresh and moist as Constable loved to paint it, and I was elated. In such a mood, when one turns away from so lovely a scene it is rare that any other will satisfy the eyes. The streets slip by unnoticed, and the mind is still held by the memory of the entrancing vision, or else one comes to earth with a thud of anticlimax. It was not so now. I looked across the crisp green lawn to the north side of the close, and saw what you can see if you will look at Plate 23, Fig. 2. There was no sudden coming to earth, no disenchantment, but instead 'emotion recollected in tranquillity'.

Those houses, worthy to stand beneath that spire, are what I have termed 'Queen Anne'. They are typical of the homes built between the coming of Dutch William and the death of George I. The busy air and play of fancy of the Elizabethan mansion have departed; gables, turrets, decorated chimney-shafts and great stone-mullioned windows are gone; the extravagance and deliberate daring of adolescence and early manhood are replaced by an unselfconscious maturity. All the details of the new age are to be seen in the picture. The house in the centre has the characteristic bold roof, hipped back at all the corners and its expanse diversified by the dormers of the attics. The cornice is well defined; the plain chimney-stacks rise in solid blocks; the sash windows are carefully spaced; and the handsome doorway gives dignity to the façade and an assurance of welcome and courtesy to those who knock. The later and plainer house to the left has a parapet instead of the projecting cornice, while on the extreme left you can see part of a central pediment, a feature taken from the classical style and adapted as a more sober form of the old steep-sided gable. There is another little pediment away on the right, above the coach-house door, and there also you can see the prominent stone quoins that



1. BARRINGTON COURT, SOMERSET



2. SALISBURY CLOSE



so often mark the corners of these pleasant brick buildings. There is something peculiarly English about all this, and I have often thought that the Queen Anne house reflects many of the most attractive traits of our national character: it is modest but not shy, reserved yet friendly, hospitable without ostentation, conservative but adaptable. A façade, like a face, expresses character, and this one tells of integrity and good taste.

During the course of the eighteenth century the Queen Anne house turned into the Georgian house. There was no striking change, but a gradual passage from maturity to middle age. Balance and proportion and a sense of orderly comfort remained, but there was less inventiveness, less grace; and some eighteenth-century houses look rather tired. Let us leave them, and see what was happening in London.

We still call London 'Town', and before the Industrial Revolution all towns save London were what we should call country towns, and the houses in them were largely country houses. But the Great Fire of 1666 destroyed most of old London, and when it was rebuilt there grew up rows and squares of 'town houses' that combine in a manner nowhere else to be found the characteristics of the Queen Anne house and the Palladian mansion. You can see the earliest of these in the buildings of the Temple, and stroll through the next hundred years by way of Queen Anne's Gate (1705), Gray's Inn Square (*c.* 1730), Chesterfield House, Mayfair (1746), Fitzroy Square (1763), Portland Place (1778), Gower Street (1786), Russell Square (1804), and Park Crescent (1812).

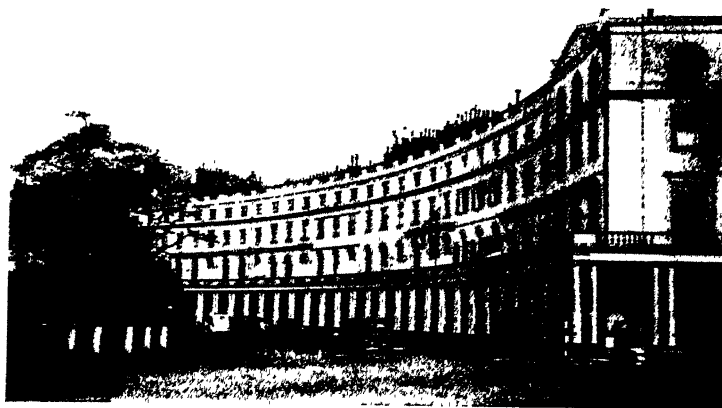
The study of classical models which had given rise to the Palladian style was stimulated by the publications of Stuart and Revett and of the brothers Adam. James Stuart and



Nicholas Revett were at Athens from 1751 to 1753, the one making drawings in colour of ancient buildings, and the other taking detailed measurements. In 1762 they published a volume on *The Antiquities of Athens*, and three years later Stuart built No. 15 St. James's Square. Hitherto the ancient buildings that were studied had all been Roman; now inspiration was sought from Greece itself. But it was still the work of the Romans that most influenced building in England, and this is due mainly to the great talents and popularity of the brothers Adam. Robert Adam had studied the ruins of Diocletian's palace at Spalato, and it gave him the idea for the Adelphi Terrace. He returned from Italy in 1758, and he and his brothers designed many houses in London and elsewhere and had much influence on other architects. Their work can be seen in the south and east sides of Fitzroy Square and in Portland Place, both of which have been mentioned already, while you can compare the Adam house, No. 20 St. James's Square, with No. 15, which Stuart built in the Greek manner. They used ornament with restraint, and secured variety by good proportions and a certain delicate vigour rather than by boldness. There are no prominent projections, for instance, in an Adam façade, and to harmonize with the general economy of their style they made the sash-bars of their windows more slender. To give diversity they introduced balconies with wrought-iron railings, and made use of a variety of materials—rubbed brick for pilasters, lintels and arches; stucco, as in Portland Place; and 'Coade's Patent Stone' for cast ornaments such as the heads over the doorways in Bedford Square. To add dignity to their buildings they would sometimes design a group of houses as one unit instead of separately (compare Plate 24, Fig. 1). This method is excellent in a square, provided that the owners of such a



1. 18 AND 19 BEDFORD SQUARE, LONDON



2. PARK CRESCENT, LONDON



group of houses agree to repaint at the same time and in the same colour; otherwise the effect is bizarre.

The work of the brothers Adam brings the eighteenth century to a quiet close. Robert died in 1792, the year of the September massacres and the fall of the French monarchy. The air was full of unrest, and though his most famous successor, John Nash, who built Park Crescent (Plate 24, Fig. 2) and Carlton House Terrace, continued in the same tradition, there is a touch of bravado about his style that points away from the years of repose towards the vexed uncertainty of Victorian days.

The trouble with the Victorians in matters of architecture was that they had neither confidence nor humility. The traditional style of the eighteenth century that came in with the Queen Anne house was dying. A tradition must develop if it is to survive; it cannot be handed down as one hands down an old master, but, like a human family, it suffers from constant inbreeding, and from time to time its blood needs invigorating by a new strain. The opportunity came with the Industrial Revolution, which provided new materials, vast scope through the power of the machine, and the difficult but stimulating problem of providing the thronging workers with decent and comfortable homes and laying out the new towns with an eye to the amenities of social life. The Victorian architects had not the confidence to take the lead at this critical time. They abandoned the factory hands to the speculator in bricks and mortar, and the result was the slums and the sordid streets of industrial barracks that we know so well. And when the insanitary rows of houses that were no homes crowded so thickly that they could no longer be ignored, they blamed the machine which it could have been

their privilege to direct for man's blessing, and declared that materials must be hand-made if the decencies of life were to be recaptured. It is easy to criticize them now, and it would have been a labour of Hercules to cope with the needs of the teeming industrial population, but the fact remains that they shirked the task; their hour struck and they were not prepared.

So much for their want of confidence. When we turn from the hovels of the iron-workers to the houses of merchants and professional men, or to public buildings and churches, we see that they also lacked humility, without which there is no art. To substantiate this we must return for a while to the eighteenth century. That period was one of revival; we see this in the Palladian style, the Queen Anne house, the Grecian buildings of James Stuart, and the work of the brothers Adam. But revivals are of two kinds: the one is imitation, when you make an idol in the image of something else; the other adaptation, when you revive yourself by the admixture and absorption of something else. Thus the Palladian mansion was an imported rarity made in a foreign mould; whereas Queen Anne and Adam houses may be described in the language of the stud as 'by national tradition out of ancient Rome'. The first sort of revival is just a copy, and breeds only copies of this copy, but the second is a true marriage and the foundation of a family.

In the eighteenth century there was yet another revival of the first and sterile type. It became fashionable to admire what was called 'Gothic', or sometimes 'Gothick'. This does not mean that there was any real understanding of the buildings of the Middle Ages, but men of leisure sought variety in what was strange, fantastic or 'romantic'. This taste is to be seen in stories like *The Mysteries of Udolpho* or *Vathek*; and Horace Walpole, who wrote *The Castle of Otranto* in the same

vein, also remodelled his house at Strawberry Hill on Gothic lines. A letter of advice about windows<sup>1</sup> from the poet Gray to Dr. Wharton shows the triviality of it all.

‘Coats of arms will, doubtless, be expensive . . . figures much more so. Unless, therefore, you can pick up some old remnants of painted glass . . . I should advise to buy plain coloured glass . . . and make up the tops of your windows in a mosaic of your own fancy. . . . Should the quarrels of clear glass be too small, if they are but turned corner ways it is enough to give it a Gothic aspect.’

In the nineteenth century this literary and leisured interest in the Middle Ages was quickened by the writings of Sir Walter Scott, and by yet another revival—the Oxford Movement in the Church of England, which turned to medieval ritual and the Gothic style in its endeavour to bring fresh life into organized religion.

This, then, was the architectural inheritance of the Victorians: a new and powerful ally in the machine, an urgent problem of housing, a dying tradition, and a spate of revivals. They neglected the machine, shelved the problem, let the tradition die, and flung themselves into the imitation of a past which they did not understand. Their lack of humility lies in the bland abandon with which they set about making all things old. It was as if their conscience stung them because they had deserted the plain and honourable duty of giving workmen homes, and to lull the smart they plunged feverishly into the past, hoping to escape from a present that they dared not face. If only they had revered the beauty of the past and been less certain of their own success in reproducing it one could forgive them, but, setting to work with ill-digested knowledge and dogmatic assurance, they soon fell in love with their own inventions, and there is a self-satisfied air about

<sup>1</sup> May 9, 1761.

most of their buildings. In London you can see the Gothic revival at its best in the Houses of Parliament, and its second-class work in the Law-Courts; there is also Liverpool St. Station, and that whited sepulchre the Tower Bridge, an iron structure of a mechanical age decked out in the trappings of a medieval fortress. But you need not go to London; the battlements and sham machicolations of the 'elegant' country-house or enterprising hotel, the pointed windows and variegated brickwork of the gas company's show-room, the heavily-leaded coloured glass in the 'vestibule' door—these will haunt you wherever you spend your holiday. Yet the Gothic revival was not the last indignity of the nineteenth century; the final insult was hurled by the speculative builder for respectable people, whose eye roamed the books of architectural details, ranging the centuries in indiscriminate hunger for the picturesque. The Victorian house is his child, and that is why it always looks over-dressed and ill at ease.

But soon after the Great Exhibition a leaven of serious experiment was fermenting amid the mass of Victorian building. There were men who were not content that an architect should work

As if his whole vocation  
Was endless imitation.

The greatest of these was Philip Webb, the friend of William Morris. It has been said of him: 'His constant aim was to carry on and develop English architectural tradition without copying any particular style.' He would not design a house unless he had the time to supervise its construction himself, and he may be called the father of a line of architects who love building for its own sake and for the use of man, not for the display of their learning or fancy. During the last fifty years

these men have been building more than houses; they are once again establishing a tradition in domestic architecture. That tradition, if I understand it aright, is not one of revival but of function. Once more the style of a house is not something added to it, but is inherent, depending on the nature of the materials and the purpose of the parts; a window, for instance, is to let in the sun and air, and its beauty must subserve that object. Similarly the car, which used to stand in its large kennel at the side of the house, has now been in some places completely domesticated and taken under the family roof, and sleeps beneath the maid's bedroom.

There remains a type of house that is called modern, but I am not sure that it is in the stream of this growing tradition. You will recognize it when you see it without any description of mine. Its eyebrows have been carefully plucked and its lips painted a bright red; it has a hard mouth and a rather blank expression. I have only one thing to say about 'modern' houses. The plan of a house and its inside are one's own, but the exterior is shared with society. If it is one of a number, it should be a good neighbour; and whether in a group or alone it must not spoil the landscape. There may be a future in towns for houses of glass and chromium-plated steel, for their surroundings, like themselves, are of man's invention. But in the country a house lives in the lap of mother earth, and long may it be built with the timber and brick and stone from the kindly soil.

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### XIII

## THE ENGLISH HOUSE—INTERIOR AND FURNITURE

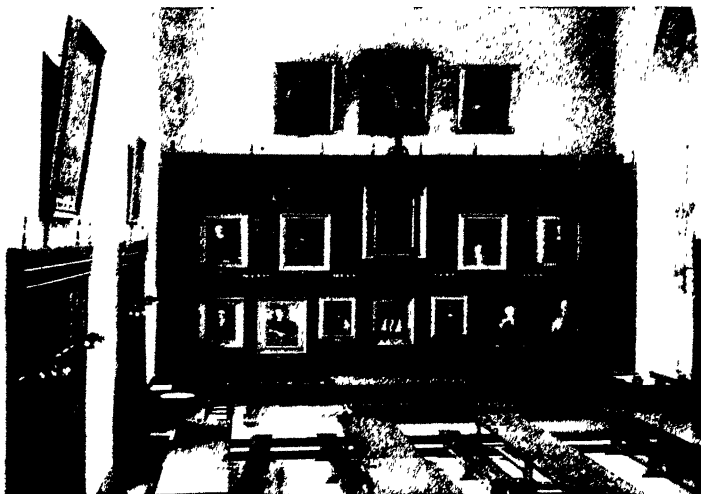
‘“Bow to the board”, said Bumble. Oliver brushed away two or three tears that were lingering in his eyes, and seeing no board but the table, fortunately bowed to that.’

DICKENS.

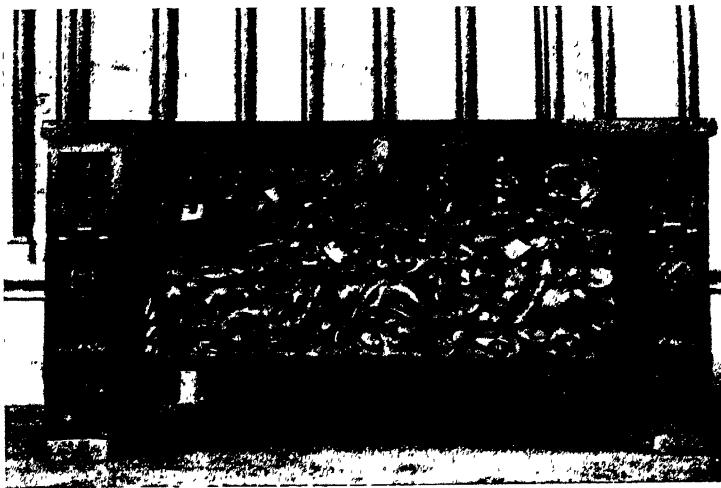
IMAGINE for a moment that you are one of the scholars who came up from Winchester to Oxford while William of Wykeham was yet alive. Then take a look at Plate 25, Fig. 1, and in your mind’s eye remove not only the electric lights and the pictures, but the panelling, the little round table and the chairs; this will give you some idea of the bareness of a medieval hall.

The photograph was taken from the gallery over the screens, and you are looking down on the long tables, but what would catch the eye of any modern entering for the first time a hall of the Middle Ages would be the vast expanse of the walls; then the long, narrow windows would draw his gaze to the roof, and indeed, one reason for their great height was to light up the timber-work that was the chief ornament of these lofty rooms. The bare plaster was not unrelieved. There were painted hangings, perhaps, and clusters of weapons or trophies of the chase, while occasionally there was a carved overmantel to the wide fireplace—unless the fire was still lit on a hearth in the middle of the floor. Generally the windows were unglazed; at Stokesay in Shropshire you can see clearly the rebate for the shutters, but there is no provision for glass.

There was not much furniture. Oliver would certainly have bowed to the table then, for drawings in manuscripts



1. NEW COLLEGE, OXFORD. INTERIOR OF HALL



2. YORK MINSTER. CHEST IN CHAPTER-HOUSE



show us that it really was a board, supported on A-shaped trestles and moved out of the way when the business of eating was over. This is the 'festive board' that historical novelists used to like to make groan under the weight of the smoking viands; probably it did, and that is why we get the 'table dormant' or permanent table that always stood laden with meat and drink in the hall of Chaucer's Franklin. You sat down to your meals on benches or stools, and afterwards retired with a cushion to the stone window-seat. The chest was the Pooh-Bah of medieval furniture; it served as cupboard, sideboard, seat and table, and probably as a hiding-place for the children. Beds were not so important as bedrooms, which were the only places where one could get any privacy; Chaucer's Clerk of Oxford seems to have read in bed, and that, no doubt, is the reason why. The servants slept on the floor in the hall, and most beds must have been rough timber structures. The wealthy made them handsome with curtains and canopies, and we know that William of Wykeham bequeathed his large silk bed to the Bishop of London.

Medieval houses were draughty and smoky and dirty, but at least they should appeal to modern taste in the absence of lumber. If warfare or other circumstances of an unsettled life forced you to 'move', you packed all your personal belongings in the chests, and the rest of the furniture could be left behind.

In the days of the Tudors and early Stuarts there was much more to pack. Although inclosure of commons and the suppression of the monasteries made necessary a series of poor-laws, the wealth of the country increased and the general standard of comfort rose. Many houses were built, not only by the new nobility enriched with forfeited monastic property,

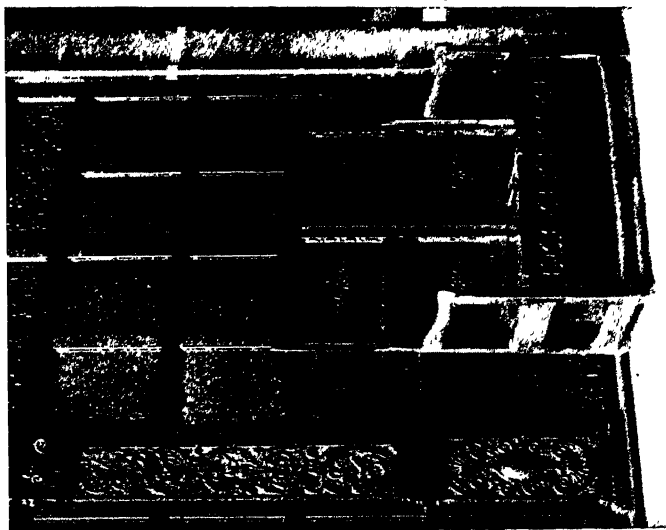
but by the thriving middle classes, and in the *Description of Britaine* which William Harrison wrote in Elizabeth's reign for *Holinshed's Chronicle* you can read how they were fitted out. After mentioning the display in noblemen's houses, where one would expect it, he turns to the knights, gentlemen, merchants and other wealthy citizens, who also had 'great provision of tapestry, Turkey work, pewter, brass, fine linen, and thereto costly cupboards of plate'. But such prosperity was no longer limited to these classes, as it had been in times past.

'Now it is descended yet lower even unto the inferior artificers and many farmers, who . . . have, for the most part, learned also to garnish their cupboards with plate, their joined beds with tapestry and silk hangings, and their tables with carpets and fine napery, whereby the wealth of our country (God be praised therefore, and give us grace to employ it well) doth infinitely appear.'

The old men of Harrison's village particularly noticed three changes. One was 'the multitude of chimneys [that is, fire-places] lately erected', and another the replacement of wooden platters and spoons by pewter or silver. But what impressed them most was the greater comfort in bed:

'Our fathers, yea and we ourselves also, have lain full oft upon straw pallets, on rough mats covered only with a sheet . . . and a good round log under their heads instead of a bolster or pillow. . . . As for servants, if they had any sheet above them, it was well, for seldom had they any under their bodies to keep them from the pricking straws that ran oft through the canvas of the pallet and rased their hardened hides.'

If we compare an Elizabethan with a medieval house we see that inside as well as out it is more consciously ornate. Harrison mentions the abundance of tapestry on the walls, and oak-panelled rooms were equally common. In the Middle





Ages there had been some panelling, with narrow vertical boards overlapping like a modern paling or a clinker-built boat; now a framework of upright styles and horizontal rails was made, and into grooves in these the familiar small rectangular panels were fitted: many plain, some carved in the linenfold pattern, others with medallions and heads, arcing, or a figure like the printed capital I. The wood was left its natural colour, so the rooms were brighter than they look now, and they were set off by richly carved overmantels of oak or plaster. A medieval ceiling had simply been the underside of the floor above; now the beams were covered with boards and elaborate plaster ceilings; you can see good examples of these and of the chimney-pieces at Plâs Mawr, Conway. But the most striking change was in the staircase. As long as bedrooms were few in number, a ladder or a spiral stair like that in a church tower would serve, but when the upper storey was made larger and used more, people wanted a more commodious and seemly way of reaching it. In Plate 26, Fig. 2 you see the main staircase of Aston Hall, built in short flights round a small open space or well, and it is characteristic of the age in its construction and vigorous ornament.

Tudor furniture had not much more variety than medieval furniture, but there was a great deal more of it, and in a less restless period it was better made. Chests were as useful as ever; and there were more cupboards, for a box that opens on top is all very well for storing blankets or linen, but not convenient for dishes or a joint. Cupboard originally meant a shelf for the display of cups—just as a sideboard was simply a side-table—and the Elizabethan court-cupboard, with its smaller upper tier, combined the receptacle and the shelf and was garnished with plate. Some tables still stood on trestles;

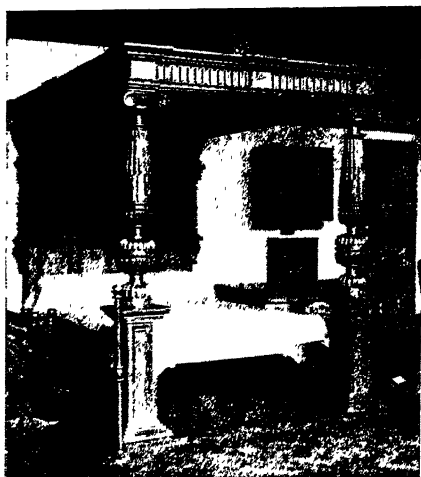


others had legs at the corners. So long as the hall remained in regular use long tables were needed, and in the seventeenth century some one thought of the draw-tables which are still popular; but gradually the family withdrew to smaller rooms—indeed, draw-tables economize space—and we also find gate-leg tables with folding leaves. The stool was still the normal seat for meals, as Lady Macbeth's remark showed when Macbeth saw Banquo's ghost:

'Why do you make such faces? When all's done  
You look but on a stool.'

The chair retained something of the dignity of the throne, and that is why the president of a meeting is even now the chairman; in those days all the others would have sat on forms or stools, as they do to-day at the counters of banks and snack-bars. Chairs began as boxes with arms, and most of the early ones were arm-chairs, as became their importance; but when they grew more common and were moved about more, we find the small chair of our daily life. The type made in the Cromwellian period is unmistakable, with its hide back and seat and bobbin-turned legs.

But as late as the Civil War chairs were not common, and the age is really an age of bedsteads. It would seem as if men had an inkling that Good Queen Bess from choice, and Charles I from necessity, would require to sleep in every county, and determined to provide them with royal lying. Such a bed is illustrated in Plate 27, Fig. 1. It shows the use of semi-classical pillars and entablatures; the bulbous projections covered with the *gadroon*, an ornament like a very elongated pear; and, at the back, semi-circular arcaded panels with debased acanthus-leaves on either side. Other Renaissance ornaments were the *guilloche*, an arrangement of interlacing



1. VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM,  
LONDON. BEDSTEAD (1593)



2. VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM, LONDON. FURNITURE  
LATE XVIIITH CENTURY



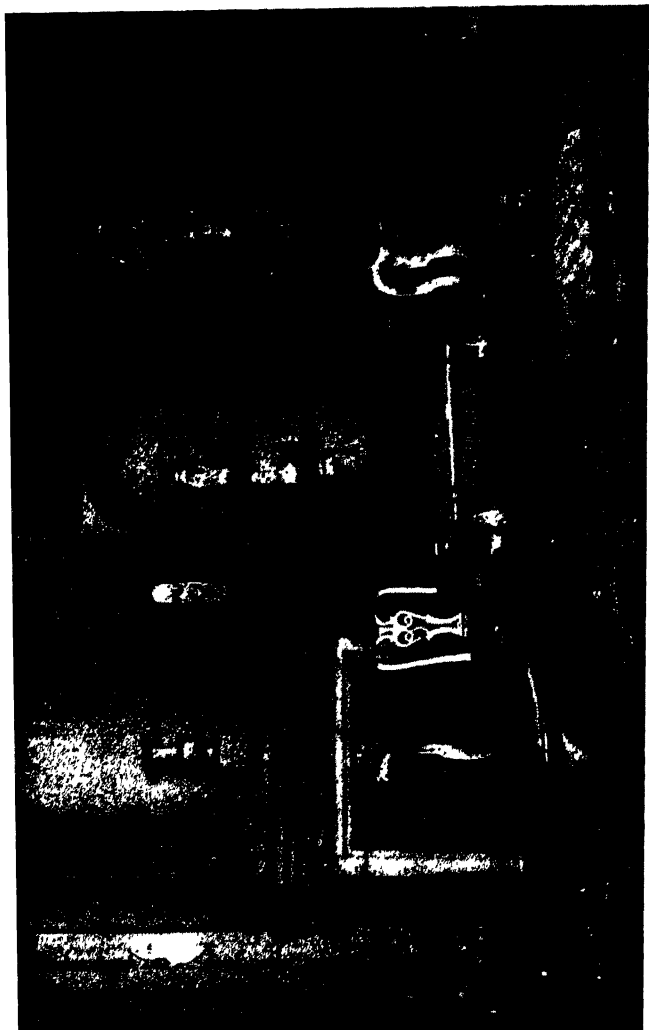
circles; masks of lions and satyrs; and strapwork of alternate ovals, rectangles or lozenges. When these were first introduced, and for many years afterwards, they were carved in barbaric profusion, but the growth of Puritan feeling brought restraint in ornament, until the return of Charles II once more uncorked the bottled-up desire for display.

So far as social life was concerned, the Restoration was something of a revolution. Although Charles was a great walker, and no one at court could keep up with him, one of his lighter accomplishments was to discover 'a new method of walking called sauntering', and the age that followed was an age of elegance. Instead of the old small panelling, walls were covered by long panels reaching from a cornice down to a chair-rail, with smaller panels below. Chimney-pieces were surrounded by a marble moulding, and above them might be a painting or a mirror, perhaps enclosed in lime-wood carving in the style which Grinling Gibbons made famous. The long sash-windows let in more light, and there was an air of spaciousness lacking in many Elizabethan rooms, which seem peculiarly suited to the long winter evenings, the candles and the blazing fire.

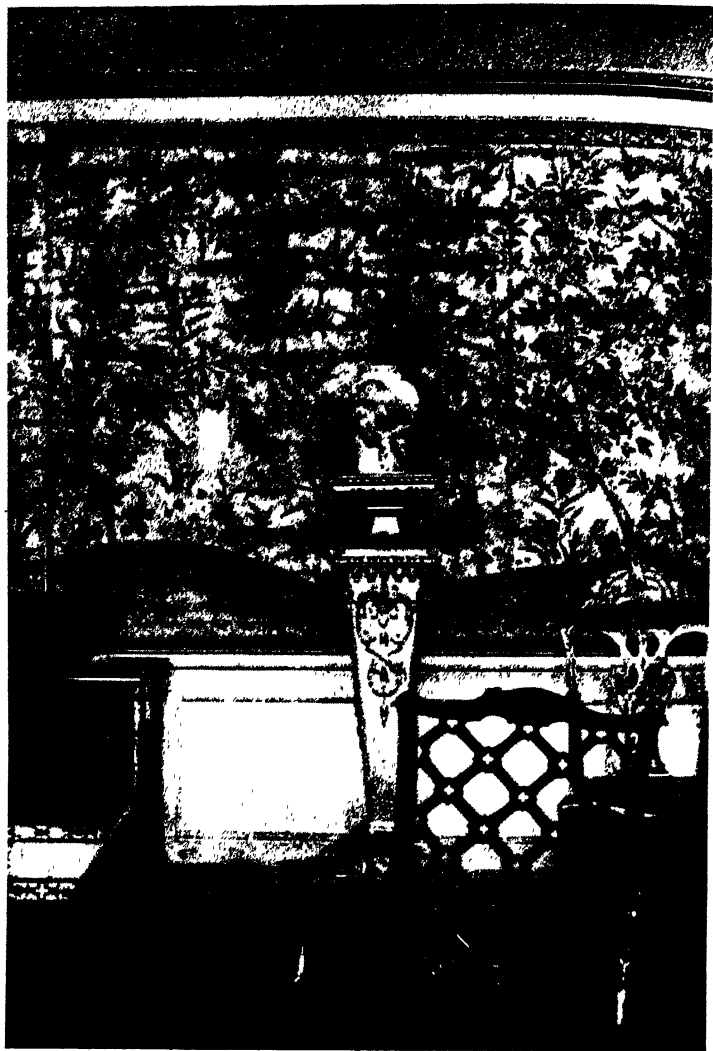
The sense of freedom of movement was emphasized by the lighter and brighter furniture. In the houses of the wealthy walnut superseded oak, and the heavy court-cupboards in time gave place to cabinets and chests of drawers, the series culminating in the beautiful bureaux and bureau-bookcases of the reigns of William III and Queen Anne. There was an abundance of tables for every use, including cards, and the bobbin-turning of Cromwellian days was succeeded by graceful twists of great variety. Chairs often had cane backs and seats and elaborate curved stretchers between the front legs;

they were taller and narrower, and enriched with cherubs and crowns and C-curves, the last two perhaps in compliment to the king. You can see a tall chair in Plate 27, Fig. 2, against the wall at the back; in front stands a couch or day-bed, flanked by a bureau-bookcase and a lacquered cabinet. There was not enough figured walnut to satisfy the demand, so often the 'carcase' of a piece of furniture was made of less costly wood and the surface covered with a veneer. There were other rich forms of ornament. Inlay of holly, fruit-woods and walnut had not been uncommon fifty years before, but now the more elaborate method of marquetry was learned, and lacquer-work was a further instance of the influence of foreign tastes. Last come the long-case or 'grandfather' clocks. With the chests of drawers they have survived almost unchanged to our own day, and their leisured ticking leads us gently into the eighteenth century.

Plates 28 and 29 show what it looked like inside the comfortable homes of the reigns of Queen Anne and the first two Georges. In the layout of the room from Hatton Garden there is little change from the days of Charles II and James II. There is the same division of panelling—the long stretch from cornice to chair-rail and the small panels below—and similar rich ornament on the overmantel, the cornice, and the pediment above the door. The figure hovering in the background might almost be William III himself, but the room has several features that became common only after his death. The panelling, for instance, is of pine, beautifully grained wood specially imported from the Baltic from a source now exhausted, and superior to the pine and deal so common to-day. Even so, it was often painted or grained, but here the paint has been removed and the wood exposed to view.



VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM, LONDON. PANELLED ROOM (c. 1730), FROM HATTON GARDEN



VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM, LONDON. INTERIOR (c. 1740)

Another innovation is the alcove; these became popular in the eighteenth century when the collection of china grew fashionable. The chairs and table have bow or *cabriole* legs, rather like those of a bulldog, and their feet are formed by pads, or claws clutching a ball. These details were common in Queen Anne's day, and so was the solid vase-shaped splat at the back of three of the chairs; the fourth, in which the splat is divided and enriched, shows the trend of later development.

The date of this room is about 1730; Plate 29 illustrates an interior of the next generation. You will at once notice the wall-paper. It is said that paper for hanging was made in Hertfordshire as early as 1500, and in Elizabeth's reign it was manufactured at Dartford in Kent, but it was never in common use and was easily destroyed. In the eighteenth century the most esteemed wall-papers were hand designed and painted, and came from China; the one shown is of about 1740 and bears the tax-stamp G.R. You can see at a glance the increasing variety of the furniture; there is a china-table with fretwork edge, an artist's table, a stand for a vase, and two quite different chairs. In the main they all bear the mark of the style associated with the name of Chippendale. This is no place to discuss his work in detail, nor the oval- or shield-backed chairs of Hepplewhite and the restrained, delicate designs of Sheraton. They all published books to advertise their wares, but they are only the most renowned of a large number of skilful craftsmen. Most of the furniture that vaguely bears their names was neither made nor designed by them, but simply has affinities with their work.

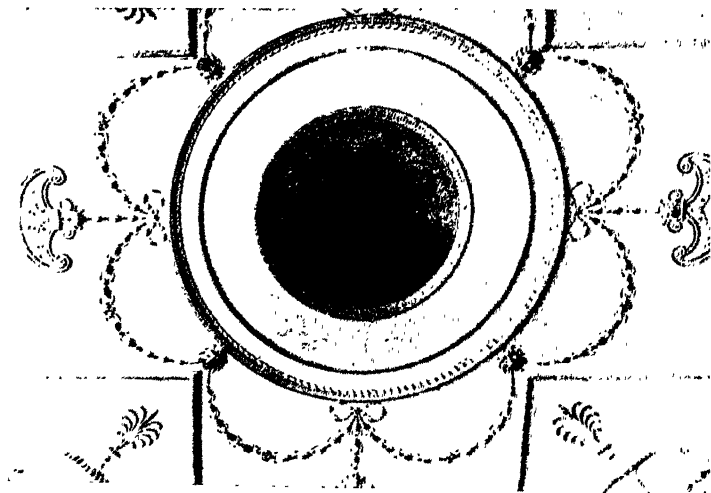
However, Thomas Chippendale cannot be dismissed with a mere mention. He is remembered by many as the popularizer of the 'Gothic' and 'Chinese' manners and of ribbon-back



chairs, but he was a much greater man than a mere purveyor of novelty. He was himself a craftsman of the very first rank; he was also a designer anxious to meet the needs not only of the wealthy but of the ordinary man of taste who wished to have simple and well-made furniture; you can see this in some of his drawings of tall-boys (double chests of drawers) and bookcases and chairs. He was also practical enough to design a basin-stand for the bedroom, from which the later washstands were descended, and he seems to have been a pioneer in the very gradual conquest of the home by soap and water.

Chippendale worked for the last ten years of his life with the brothers Adam, giving bodily form to the creations of their brains, but their view of furniture was not the same as his. To them it was less a means of satisfying human needs than one part of a coherent architectural design. Everything must be in keeping; there was a place allotted to every piece of furniture, and every piece of furniture had to be in its place. Chippendale's was a warmer spirit. A man who took such delight in making chairs must have enjoyed sitting about, and he would have looked kindly on the comfortable mild disorder that makes a home homely.

This is not written in disparagement of the brothers Adam. The furniture that interested them most was what stood against the walls, and indeed, their walls and ceilings are beautiful and restful to look at. Instead of panelling they used plaster, coloured in delicate shades of blue, green and lilac, primrose-yellow or dove-grey. Their ornament was only in slight relief, but it stands out clean-cut like a jewel; you can see in Plate 30 what their ceilings and fireplaces looked like. Those whose favourite painter is Rubens will not care for their work, but violence is not the only sign of strength, and restraint



1. 9 ADELPHI TERRACE, LONDON. ADAM CEILING



2. SCHOOL HOUSE, CHIGWELL, ESSEX. ADAM MANTELPIECE



is neither weak nor timid. If on a hot and dusty day you have broken your stud, missed your train, had words with a relative and swallowed a fly, it is in an Adam room that you will most quickly and certainly recover your natural coolness and sense of proportion.

It was in the eighteenth century that staircases followed the general trend of furniture towards lightness. Massive newels and prominent hand-rails were replaced by others less conspicuous; the ends of the stairs now rested on the string, instead of being buried in it, and slender turned balusters were grouped in twos or threes on each step. These staircases, like the earlier ones, rose in short stages round the staircase hall, but in the Adam period newels and strings were dispensed with and the staircase was built in one long flight—a spiral once more, but with a wide and swinging curve.

Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive  
But to be young was very heaven.

Thus wrote Wordsworth, thinking of the early days of the French Revolution. I wonder if others who lived to be staid Victorian elders had similar feelings, roused by a different stimulus, as they looked back on their childhood in an Adam house; for never before nor since has there been such scope for tobogganing downstairs on a tea-tray and a mat, or 'sliding down the banisters'.

The nineteenth century began indoors with a few half-hearted essays of imitation—the 'Empire' style and the Greek and Egyptian fashions—and then drifted into the Victorian period. It was a Puritan period, very unlike the eighteenth century, yet those who insisted on decorum and restraint in behaviour forgot these qualities in much of their furnishing.

The heavy father 'let himself go' in the drawing-room, even if he would not let any one else go in, save under supervision.

The tradition of the eighteenth century was not quite dead. It survived, for instance, in mahogany. This splendid wood was introduced in Queen Anne's reign, became popular in that of George I, and warmed all the rooms of the eighteenth century with its rich and conservative red. Satinwood and rosewood had their vogue but did not displace it, and it was firm in the affections of the Victorians. The tradition of good craftsmanship survived too, and so long as Victorian furniture is plain there is little to say against it. But when they aspired to something more ambitious, the designers of the day failed; their furniture was ornate without being decorative, florid but lacking the natural grace of a flower. Those who used the furniture deserved no better than they bought. Cornices had been reduced to a small moulding between ceiling and wall, panels to a diminutive skirting; and against a background of bright wall-paper the family accumulated a nondescript collection of furniture and 'objects of art', ebony tables, bronze groups, marble clocks and marble-topped chiffoniers, wax flowers in glass cases, and papier mâché trays, the variegated inconsequence of which was enhanced rather than toned down by the hard horsehair sofa. Fashions ebb and flow, but I doubt whether for long years we shall return to this cult of oddments and knick-knacks. Yet the furnishings of every period have at least an historical interest, and it is good to know that at Aston Hall near Birmingham there are two rooms fitted out in full Victorian style, complete to the last antimacassar. I hope that others are preserved elsewhere.

We have said 'Good-bye to all that', but have not quite decided what to put in its place. We are agreed that walls

shall be distempered or covered with an unobtrusive paper, that there shall be no heavy curtains, no waste of space, nothing to catch the dust. Some of us are ready to dispense with pictures, unless a friend will paint one as a structural feature and a unit in the general design; otherwise a vase or bowl, carefully chosen and carefully placed, will, by its isolation, give distinction to a room. In fact, there is no nonsense about us.

We are not quite so certain about furniture. In the main there are three schools: the advocates of functional furniture of chromium-plated steel, with supports for the body only in the parts where they are needed; the lovers of silkily sprung arm-chairs and settees, whom the advertisers delight to depict sunk in the cosy depths, with a decanter and syphon by their side and a cat dozing on the hearth; and last, those who buy 'period' furniture. I cannot claim to belong to any of these groups. I want my chair to fit me and my table to be neat and clean, but one has to live with one's belongings as well as sit in them or at them, and chromium plating is not restful to the eye; on the other hand, though I love my bed, I have no desire to surrender myself to the soft and slumbrous caresses of a chair; while although furniture that is an admitted reproduction and well made cannot offend, I do not want it for myself. I am content to buy what I need piece by piece, making shift until I can get what I wish, in the belief that simple and sterling work of all periods, including our own, has the quality, essential in a home, of being 'a good mixer'.

I end with a plea for pictures: not coloured objects to hide the wall, for the wall should not need hiding, but works of art and reproductions of works of art. These last seem to me different from reproductions of furniture. For one thing, there are hundreds of real eighteenth-century chairs in

existence, and scores of old chests, but there is only one *View of Delft* and only one *Poringland Oak*, and as I cannot go to live with them they shall come to live with me. Would you refuse an absent friend's offer of a photograph because it was not the original? The other difference is that a piece of furniture is meant to be used and worn; by this very use and wear it *becomes* the thing of beauty whose mellow age and honourable scars hold our affections. But a work of art is one man's vision of life, and fulfils its purpose whenever others perceive his message; if reproductions can carry some of the thrill of the original to those who may never be able to see it, then they establish themselves in the home, and many will tell you that they can. They are inexpensive. For half a crown each you can buy really beautiful prints in colour of the cream of the Wallace Collection, and elsewhere you will find that a few shillings will go a long way. But what of original works of art; are not these out of the reach of the ordinary man? I do not think so. I have a few water-colour drawings, picked up at modest prices; some of them (I mention this simply as a guarantee of their quality) have been hung in exhibitions of British art, and one of these cost only thirty-five shillings. If you are rich it is easy to buy expensive pictures; if you are not, it is still possible to buy good ones; and on the darkest day they will open for you windows into another world, where you can travel in company with the men who made them, and then return refreshed to your own fireside.

## FURTHER READING

The following list will serve for Chapters XI, XII, and XIII.

- J. A. GOTCH, *The Growth of the English House* (Batsford, 2nd. edn., 1928, 12s. 6d.), is the standard work of moderate size.
- SYDNEY R. JONES, *English Village Homes* (Batsford, 1936, 7s. 6d.).
- A. R. POWYS, *The English House* (Benn, 6d.).
- OLIVER BRACKETT, *English Furniture* (Benn, 6d.). } Both good.
- Victoria and Albert Museum, *Picture Books of English Chairs, Chests, Tables, Mirrors, Chimney-pieces* (6d. each).
- A. HAMILTON THOMPSON, *The English House* (Bell, 1936, 1s.).
- I. C. PEATE, *Some Welsh Houses*, an article in *Antiquity*, December, 1936.
- H. FIELD and M. BUNNEY, *English Domestic Architecture of the XVII and XVIII Centuries* (Bell, 2nd edn., 1928; may still be obtainable as a remainder) deals largely with exteriors.
- H. CESCINSKY and E. R. GRIBBLE, *Early English Furniture and Woodwork* (out of print, but may still be obtainable as a remainder) covers the period up to about 1700; sumptuously illustrated.
- M. JOURDAIN, *English Interiors from Smaller Houses of the XVII to XIX Centuries, 1660-1820* (Batsford, reissue, 15s.).
- J. C. ROGERS, *English Furniture: its Essentials and Characteristics* (Country Life, 21s.).

The following volumes concern modern houses and furniture.

- The Smaller House* (The Architectural Press, 1924, 15s.; apparently out of print—I got a remaindered copy) contains plans, elevations, and interiors of modern houses, mainly post-war.
- J. G. ALLEN, *The Cheap Cottage and Small House* (Batsford, new edn., 8s. 6d.).
- P. A. WELLS, *Furniture for Small Houses* (Batsford, reissue, 7s. 6d.).



## XIV

### THE STORY OF CASTLES

This castle hath a pleasant seat; the air  
Nimbly and sweetly recommends itself  
Unto our gentle senses.

SHAKESPEARE.

THE story of Castles is in one way like a Shakespearian tragedy; in which, as Professor Bradley observed, there is not only a conflict between the hero's party and their opponents but also a conflict in the hero's own soul. In the same way the development of castles has depended not simply on the obvious struggle between attack and defence, but on a subtler struggle, conducted within the walls of the castle itself, between military needs and the claims of domestic life. The variety of castles is immense; they range from sheer fortresses like the Peak Castle in Derbyshire to royal and baronial palaces such as Windsor or Warwick, and it is pleasing to trace the gradual increase of comfort which, as the demands of war grew less, transformed many a military stronghold into a home.

Neither prehistoric earthworks, Roman camps and forts, nor Saxon burhs were strictly castles at all; the few castles set up by Edward the Confessor's Norman friends were but heralds of the great invasion; and any account of English castles really begins in 1066 when William, not yet the Conqueror, erected a mound and palisade at Hastings to protect his base in the enemy's country. The Norman conquest of England, unlike the English conquest of Britain, was not accompanied by the migration of a people; what happened was that the Saxon aristocracy was swept away and supplanted

by a Norman-French aristocracy who received its land, as a reward for service already done and on condition of supplying armed horsemen to the new Norman king. The country was not subdued at once, and the main work of subjection was completed only by William's brutal devastation of the north in 1069. It must not be supposed that during these three years the henchmen of William went unpaid. As each district was conquered, the lands of Saxon nobles were parcelled out among the king's followers, and so it happened that a baron might be granted lands in, say, Berkshire, then Warwick, and finally in the north. Eustace of Boulogne, for instance, held manors in twelve counties. This was not all. The estates of any one Saxon noble might already consist of scattered lands, and so the eventual share of a Norman baron was often widely dispersed, a circumstance affecting castle-building. On the other hand, Sussex, apart from the manors of the Crown and Church, was given in compact blocks to five trusty men; while the border counties, Durham, Chester, Shropshire and Hereford, were allotted intact, so that the defence of the frontiers might be organized with efficiency and ease.

The builders of castles were kings or their influential subjects, the new Norman royalty and aristocracy, but their motives were not entirely similar. The immediate concern of the king, as of his barons, was protection against any rising of the conquered populace, and he therefore built his castles in important towns that controlled communications and might be centres of rebellion. Of course, the castles were meant to protect the towns, but the townsfolk were still potential enemies, so William seldom set up his strongholds in their midst, generally at the edge of the town to overawe as well as

to guard. A later concern was to protect the coast, first that of Kent and Sussex, then as far as Southampton, and finally, in Henry VIII's day, right down to Dartmouth and St. Mawes. On the east coast also a few royal castles were built, as at Orford in Suffolk. Meanwhile the inland frontiers had been fortified by the great lords, and the Scottish border always rested mainly in their keeping, but Edward I after conquering Wales built there the finest group of castles in Britain.

The interests of the barons were naturally more local. Each newly invested magnate wanted a place to lay his head in safety, and from which to strike fear and respect into his unwilling vassals and at the same time administer his estates. Thus, in districts where the land was divided between many new men, each might need his castle, while where one was sole ruler a single stronghold or a couple might be enough. Where broad lands had been granted to the Church, as in the Cotswolds, there were few castles or none. Later, when barons felt more secure, their ambitions enlarged, and they built in competition with one another or even in defiance of the Crown. Their activity was increased when William Rufus gave permission to the lords of the Welsh Marches to conquer what they could, and in Wales they planned on broad lines, one castle serving to protect its neighbour, and the whole system forming a network that guarded every important river and gap in the hills. Kings watched this dangerous increase of baronial power with a jealous eye, and Henry II, in particular, insisted on the demolition of many castles thrown up during the long war between Stephen and Matilda.

While it is proper to allude to the divergent and sometimes conflicting aims of king and barons, it would be a grave mistake to regard their relationship as one of permanent or

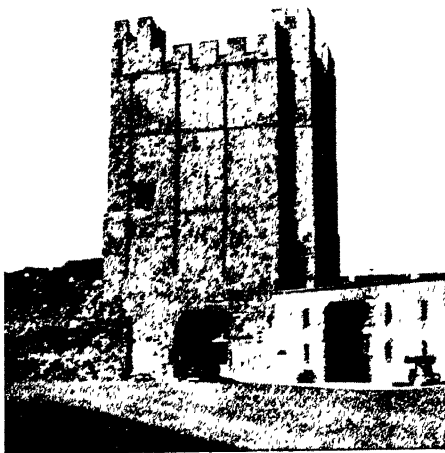
necessary hostility. They were, in fact, partners rather than rivals, and in the feudal system which united them the possession of rights was bound up with the performance of duties. Feudalism was not a cloak for alternate autocracy and anarchy, but the only practicable system of government for a country with poor communications and no elaborate administrative machinery; and in the long run the barons were as interested in the maintenance of order as was the king. They were not only private gentlemen but public servants, and this was recognized by them and by even the strongest medieval monarchs.

The castle in the Middle Ages was thus a symbol of orderly government rather than of spasmodic oppression. Except in south Wales and on the Scottish border, castles were normally royal castles, in the sense that their lords were engaged in the king's business, even though they held their office by hereditary tenure. They were not mere military strongholds, but financial, judicial and administrative centres, and if we would understand their remains aright we must remember that often their gates stood open, and they were busy with peaceful folk coming and going on their lawful occasions.

Let us turn to the buildings themselves. The early castles much resemble those that we have all as children made by the sea-side. There was a mound, an enclosure and a ditch, and where water was available the ditch became a moat. Sometimes, as at Ongar in Essex, there were two enclosures or baileys, the inner abutting on the mound and the outer serving as an additional protection to the less defended side. Once the site was determined—sometimes it was a rocky perch, often rising ground near a river—construction was an easy matter. All the peasants would be mustered and set to

dig out the ditches; some of the earth would be banked into a rampart for the bailey or baileys, and the rest used to form the motte or artificial mound; baileys and motte would be palisaded with stout stakes, much as Robinson Crusoe fortified himself; and then the lord would take up his residence in a wooden house on the mound, while his retainers lived in huts in the courtyard below. Wooden bridges must have been used to connect the baileys and the motte, and probably some sort of a ladder reached from the base of the motte up to the platform on which the lord's house stood. Some idea of the appearance of these early castles may be gained from the photograph of St. Clears in Carmarthen, which stands on the right bank of the river Cynin, a few hundred yards from its junction with the Taff, and except for the disappearance of the woodwork looks much as it must have done when thrown up about 1190.

These castles seem primitive, but were adequate for their immediate purpose, which was to provide a head-quarters strong enough to resist an attack by poorly armed peasants; and it was a great advantage in a troubled period that they could be raised in a very short time. The Conqueror had one built at York in the space of eight days, and the many castles put up without the King's permission during the 'nineteen long winters' of Stephen's reign must have been mainly of this type. What is more, their general plan persisted in England for some two hundred years after the Conquest, the main alterations being in material rather than design. They are so interesting because they show in a simple way the methods of meeting military needs; in Bedfordshire alone there are some twenty of them, and they are to be seen in large numbers all about England and Wales; even where later work has been added, the original ramparts and mound



1. RICHMOND CASTLE, YORKSHIRE.  
THE KEEP



2. ST. CLEARS, CARMARTHENSHIRE. MOTTE AND  
BAILEY CASTLE



may still often be traced, forming the defensive nucleus of a much grander castle.

Until 1100, when Rufus died, with few exceptions fortification was such as has been described, but in the more settled twelfth century a change set in. Wooden walls could be pulled down or set on fire, and castles were now ringed with a curtain-wall of stone, while instead of the wooden house on the mound a stone keep was built. Some of these keeps were circular shells of masonry, up to 12 feet in thickness, with domestic buildings inside, at first perhaps of wood but later of stone. Instances of this form of keep are those of Arundel, Windsor and Alnwick. The other type of keep was massive and rectangular, and has been better preserved; generally it was built on the solid ground, because of its great weight; fine examples are the White Tower of London, Colchester, Hedingham, Rochester, Dover, Richmond (Plate 31, Fig. 1), and Newcastle-on-Tyne. The first two of these are among the few exceptions to the generalization that castles were of the motte and bailey type until 1100; both, in fact, were begun in the lifetime of William the Conqueror, but the majority of keeps of this sort were built during the reigns of Henry I and Henry II. Their dimensions vary according to the importance of the place; the keep of the Peak Castle was but 40 by 36 feet, Rochester was 70 feet square, Kenilworth 87 by 54 feet, Colchester 155 by 113 feet, the largest in the country. Rarely were the walls less than 8 feet thick; in some places there were 20 feet of masonry, while part of the wall on the north side of Colchester has a thickness of 10 yards, owing to the poor available building-stone. These walls were not as substantial as they appeared, for it was a common practice to use squared stones only for the outer and



inner faces, and to fill in the remainder with rubble and mortar. In the present ruined state of many castles this can often be plainly seen. The entrance was generally not on the ground floor but on the first storey so that a battering ram could not be brought against it; it was approached by an external staircase, and was often protected, as at Dover and Newcastle, by a strong outbuilding. The windows in the exposed lower floors were mere slits; those above compromised with comfort by letting in a little more light, and during a siege more arrows; the large windows now to be seen in some castles were inserted later, like those of the Tudor period at Kenilworth. Where possible, as at Castle Rising in Norfolk, the keep enclosed a well.

These keeps must have been comfortless places to dwell in. They were not only dark, but cold, draughty and smoky, for all walls were outside walls, there was no glass in the windows, and the fireplace was just a recess in the wall. At Hedingham this was provided with a short flue and a slit for the smoke to escape by, but probably as much blew back as found its way out; in Castle Rising and most other keeps there was no smoke-vent at all. Accommodation was very limited, except of the rudest sort for soldiers and servants. The lord and his family can have had hardly any privacy, though here again Hedingham is an exception, for round the Great Hall runs a gallery to which they could retire. At night they slept in slit-like 'rooms' cut in the thick walls, where they must often have rubbed their cold feet and envied their retainers, disposed promiscuously round the fire. Oddly enough, the one respect in which keeps compare favourably with later houses is sanitation. They had more closets or *garderobes*, and more decently situated, than many an Elizabethan mansion. These were placed, like the sleeping apart-

ments, at the end of a passage in the thickness of the wall, were ventilated, and the sewage was discharged outside at the bottom of a long shoot.

In a few cases we find keeps that are round like the Shell Keep yet as massive as the Rectangular Keep. This type was common in France; and in our own country there are good examples at Pembroke (Plate 32, Fig. 1), Conisborough and Launceston. It was more economical to build than the Rectangular Keep, and the field of fire from it was rather wider, as there were no blind corners; however it was not largely used in England, and indeed the age of building Keep Castles was drawing to a close.

Before discussing the later castles, let us consider the tactical improvements outside the keep since first palisades were replaced by a stone curtain. The curtain-walls had one disadvantage in common with the palisade; if the besiegers could get close under the wall, you could not shoot at them without leaning over the parapet and exposing yourself to the arrows of their archers, protected by movable wooden frames called mantlets. To remedy this towers were thrown out, from which the garrison, while themselves under cover, could shoot at their enemies along the line of the wall. Another method of dislodging the assailants was to construct wooden penthouses, or brattices, which were built into the top of the wall and projected outwards; from these, offensive substances could be showered on the heads of any one battering at the wall. These brattices have long gone, but holes can still be seen at the top of some keeps where once the framework was built in. A third military improvement was the better protection of the main entrance. Every one knows a drawbridge, and the portcullis which could be dropped behind as an additional barrier; even where neither remains, the grooves

for the portcullis and holes for the chains of the drawbridge can generally be seen, and so can the square holes at the sides of doors, into which once slipped the oak beam that was the bolt. The drawbridge was usually guarded by boldly projecting towers, but even these could not prevent besiegers from shooting a volley of flaming arrows into the raised drawbridge itself. Therefore it became common to build an outwork called a Barbican, just as an outbuilding was sometimes erected to guard the entrance to a keep. No one could get at the main gateway without first capturing the barbican, while if besiegers neglected the main entrance and attacked the walls on that side, defenders could use the barbican as a point of vantage to shoot at them from behind. Besides adding this outwork, or instead of so doing, builders in the thirteenth century often considerably strengthened the gatehouses themselves or built new ones; of this there is a good instance at Llanstephan in Carmarthenshire.

No improvement of detail in Keep Castles could rid them of two fundamental defects. In the first place, the so-called outer bailey or ward did not completely protect the inner ward; it was 'outer' only in the sense that it was further from the last stronghold, the keep. Secondly, the very precautions taken to render the keep impregnable made it a prison for the garrison. In order that no assailant could get in, the entrance was on the first storey, approached by a staircase or a ladder, and wide enough only for two armed men abreast. But once the besiegers had captured the inner ward it was just as hard for the defenders to get out, because a few archers behind mantlets could cover the small and awkwardly placed exit, and the strongest keep might be starved into surrender. After 1250, especially in Wales, a new type of castle was built in



1. PEMBROKE CASTLE



2. STOKESAY CASTLE, SHROPSHIRE



which these defects were remedied. Its details varied considerably, but two principles were always borne in mind: the outer ward did completely protect the inner ward, except where nature had made artificial protection needless; and the keep was abolished, being replaced by a number of mural towers each as strong as many an earlier keep, while from the extensive courtyards a considerable force of soldiers could launch a sortie with effect. The plans of two castles will show this more clearly than a long description. At Conway (Fig. 3) the inner ward can be assailed only on the side remote from the river; that side is covered by the outer ward, and the outer ward is itself guarded by the town walls. At Caerphilly (Fig. 5) is the grandest piece of medieval military engineering in Britain. It is a real 'concentric' castle, a stronghold of ward within ward. The outer ward was enormous. Two streams were dammed to form a lake 15 acres in extent; rising above the water on the west were two earthworks, the large 'Horn Work' and a smaller one north of it; on the east a massive 'Grand Façade' 250 yards long, of great height and thickness and strengthened by a number of towers and buttresses, contained the waters of the lake and controlled the supply by means of four water-gates. Between the Horn Work and the Grand Façade the middle ward was built, 111 by 96 yards in extent with ample room for manoeuvre, and within that again the inner ward, itself a castle of great strength. These two castles are typical of the advance made in military architecture during the second half of the thirteenth century; Conway may be paralleled by Caernarvon and Kidwelly, Caerphilly on a smaller scale by Beaumaris and Harlech. Improvements in detail accompanied the change in design. The wooden brattices were replaced, especially over gate-houses, by stone machicolations. Passages were built running

right round the walls, as at Caernarvon, allowing the garrison to be brought secretly and swiftly to any spot where they were needed. At Caernarvon also is an ingenious triple arrow slit, in the form of the broad stripes of the Union Jack, which allowed three archers to use the same improved loophole, or one archer to fire in three directions, straight ahead or diagonally to either side. Entrances were cunningly planned so that attackers had to turn round corners, always under fire, to reach the next doorway. And if they finally penetrated to the inner courtyard what was their reward? A hail of arrows from hidden defenders, who then sallied forth to turn confusion into rout.

The castle had now reached the zenith of its strength, and before tracing its gradual decline let us consider very briefly how it was attacked—briefly, because so few traces of the methods of the assailants remain for the holiday-maker to see. The most obvious plan was to make a sudden assault with scaling-ladders. If that failed a regular siege was begun, and trenches dug. Batteries of engines were brought up to sling stones and blazing tar-barrels, or an occasional unfortunate captive or a dead horse, and archers shot at every opening in the walls and every defender who exposed himself, while the serious siege-work was undertaken by the engineers. A bridge of fascines or bundles of faggots was made across the moat, under cover of a movable penthouse known as a cat or sow, and a battering ram and borers were brought against the wall. If the moat was a dry ditch, a better way was to undermine the wall, set fire to the supporting props, and charge in when part of the wall fell down as the props burned. A third method was to construct a movable tower, higher than the walls and protected against fire by raw hides, and to wheel this across the fascine-filled moat. The top of the side

of the tower next to the wall was made like a drawbridge; this was let down on to the wall itself, and across it rushed a column of men, numerous enough to sweep aside the defenders, establish themselves on the wall, and then extend their position to right and left along it. This is exciting work to describe, but what remains of it all? A few grass-grown platforms like those at Berkhamstead, where the Dauphin of France, invited by the English barons to depose the hated John, set up his *trébuchets* to sling great stones and batter the castle. Perhaps this is not unfitting, for the most certain weapon of besiegers had always been the slow but relentless process of starvation.

Most castles are ruinous now. Some of them were destroyed by gunpowder, but more have perished by the hand of time. They were a product of the feudal age, and their end was lingering because feudalism itself took so long a-dying. The change is to be seen in the fourteenth century, when the English were orderly and Edward I had subdued the Welsh. Towns and a trading class were growing, the Crown was rich enough to employ mercenaries instead of the feudal levy, and it was only on the Scottish border that the militant baronage of the old type had full scope. By the fifteenth century, helped by their experience in the Hundred Years War, soldiers had discovered that if an enemy's army was routed his castles were bound to fall in time, and therefore castles were masked or ignored as warfare became more mobile. What is more, except for the Wars of the Roses with their few sieges and their bloody pitched battles, warfare in England grew less frequent.

The result was the gradual domestication of the castle. The White Tower, early though it was built, contains its



chapel, and there are the remains of a tiny oratory in Conisborough keep. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries more domestic accommodation was provided in the court-yards, and at Caerphilly there is in the inner ward a splendid banqueting hall, 73 by 35 feet and 30 feet high. After the death of Edward I few first-class castles were built, and a compromise between military needs and the claims of the home was made in dozens of fortified manor-houses; Stokesay (Plate 32, Fig. 2) is an early example of this class, and there were also stately brick mansions such as Hurstmonceaux in Sussex and Tattershall in Lincolnshire. A lord who wished to fortify his dwelling had to obtain a royal 'licence to crenellate'. It is significant that Edward III and Richard II between them issued some 240 of these, an average of more than three a year, whereas during the next four reigns, a period of eighty-four years, only 17 licences were granted. The reason is that the great nobles were spending their money on troops of retainers instead of strong places to put them in.

At length, after a century and a half free from serious internal conflict, the Civil War burst upon England, and once more castles were put in a state of defence. They gave a good account of themselves wherever they had no siege-artillery to face, and their military value ended only with their systematic 'slighting' or destruction by the New Model Army. A few of them were put to another and baser official use: the *donjon* became the dungeon, and at Oxford and Lancaster the one-time centre of administration survives as the county gaol. But this is only the epilogue to the long drama, for many years before the Civil War it had come to be that in ordinary life an Englishman's house was his castle.





## FURTHER READING

Mrs. E. S. ARMITAGE, *The Early Norman Castles of the British Isles* (Murray, 1912, out of print).

C. H. ASHDOWN, *British Castles* (Black, 1911, out of print).

C. W. C. OMAN, *Castles* (The Great Western Railway, 5s.) with a valuable introduction.

HUGH BRAUN, *The English Castle* (Batsford, 1936, 7s. 6d.).

For a vivid description of a siege, read Chapter 43 of Charles Reade's *The Cloister and the Hearth*.

## SOME JOTTINGS IN CONCLUSION

'He who has seen one cathedral ten times has seen something; he who has seen ten cathedrals once has seen but little; and he who has spent half an hour in each of a hundred cathedrals has seen nothing at all.'

SINCLAIR LEWIS.

'Just as we increase the range of what we see, we increase the richness of what we can imagine.'

J. C. COX.

THIS chapter really will consist of jottings, of snatches of fact and discursive reflections that did not fit in elsewhere, but are assembled here because I was unwilling to abandon them. I have chosen two 'texts'; they sound contradictory, yet one supplements the other. The second is the more obvious truth, but we must lay the emphasis on the right word; it is the richness of our imaginings that matters, not their extent, and variety is a means, not an end. That is the essence of the first and harder saying, with the added thrust that variety for its own sake is not even a means, for it loses all meaning. In an age when we travel faster and faster and yet have less and less time left, this is a necessary warning.

There are three ways of going about. One is to set out on a pilgrimage; you will have certain ports of call and harbours of refuge, but your eye will be on your goal. The second is to choose one spot and then visit the district round it; change of scene is less frequent, but you can potter about and taste the flavour of locality; you are an inhabitant and not a lodger, and the inn or the tent where your bed is becomes for a time your home. The third way is just to set out. To this height of philosophy I have not yet attained. There has always been

so much that I knew I wanted to see, and something else has always turned up without my playing Micawber of set purpose. Perhaps when I have written this book I shall try the third way, but I am not sure; for if you go in pursuit of the unexpected and find it, you discover simply what you were looking for, not something different after all.

There is only one proper method of progress. Until my father was turned seventy we walked. We have cast our net wider since then and caught more fish, but they have never tasted so sweet. One advantage a car has; next to an aeroplane it gives you most nearly a bird's-eye view of a district, and you learn what I may call the strategy of the countryside. But nothing will make up for the feeling when you walk that you are *earning* every sight you see. For years I rode a bicycle, but I would rather walk; they are machines skilfully designed to give the traveller the best of both worlds, yet a bicycle, like a car, is your master until you dismount.

Here are some survivals of old England that I have not discussed: Bridges, market crosses, shop-fronts, fire-insurance marks, inn-signs, barns, sundials, thatching, drainage and bees. This is not the place to do more than catalogue them, but I must mention the street of old shops which is being erected at the Wilberforce Museum in Hull; it contains a chemist's, tobacconist's, gunsmith's, wood-turner's, blacksmith's, plumber's, mercer's, antique dealer's, organ builder's, undertaker's, and a couple of taverns. This is always there to see, and if you are not in too much of a hurry you may come across temporary exhibitions of equal interest. In the summer of 1935 such a one was held at Dorchester, where there was a display of photographs of Dorset bridges; and in

1936 there were exhibitions of Welsh furniture at Cardiff and of inn-signs in London.

Besides place-names, of which I have said something, there is much to discover in field-names and names of streets. Those of my native Black Country come most readily to mind, chiefly the names of streets and town squares, except for the Wake Field and Ten Acre where I played as a lad. There must have been a deal of bull-baiting and cock-fighting in these parts a hundred years ago. Most people have heard of the Bull Ring in Birmingham; in the same way the centre of Wednesbury is the High Bullen, and of Darlaston the Bull Stake, while half a mile from this several roads meet at Bull Piece. My father's parents used to tell two stories about these days. The first is simply some remarks heard in a butcher's shop. 'I want tiw nice mootton chops fer the dog; be sure an' coot 'em nice. . . . Now I want a pound o' bits fer our dinner.' The other concerns a family where the son had recently bought a young bulldog; it was a friendly creature, and to train it for its fierce task the father used to go down on his hands and knees, and roar and grin savagely. One day the dog grabbed him by the nose, and he bellowed and grimaced in earnest. 'Bear it feyther', cried his son, 'it'll be the makkin' o' the poop.' High Street, Darlaston, though it runs by the church, used to be Cock Street till recently, while the story is not yet forgotten of how the Rev. W. Morton, the 'sporting' vicar of Willenhall, when he was wakened up by the clerk to preach the sermon called out, 'Black cock a guinea!'

The names of houses sometimes strike an individual note. A few hundred yards from where I write, one house bears a tablet with the words 'The hands of industry rewarded', and I know of a pair about three miles away called 'Good

Intent View' and 'Live and Let Live'. Here is an idea for one more piece of self-expression by the builder of 'modern' houses. He can be biblical: 'The wise shall understand', classical: '*Cetera desunt*', proverbial, poetical, political, or just personal. He can even call a house 'No hawkers, no circulars', to save the trouble of putting up a notice, or christen it with his telephone number.

We should be sorry to lose the tales that towns tell of their neighbours, but happily local traditions die hard. The men of Wednesbury, so Darlaston says, used to shut the toll-gate on the Old Park Road whenever it snowed at Darlaston, to keep out the bad weather; while a Darlaston man is reported to have tried to entice the cock off the Willenhall church tower with split peas, because he wanted it for St. Lawrence's steeple; and it was a Willenhall family, I think, who put the pig on the wall to see the train go by.

Every county has similar tales. If a Cornishman has words with a native of Towednack he will ask him, 'Who built a hedge round the cuckoo?' The story goes that the Towednack farmers, hoping to keep summer weather for ever, built a stone wall round a cuckoo to keep him from flying away; but just as they were laying the last course, off he flew, remembering no doubt that it was August.

There is much to be learned in a tavern, including many things in the minds of Englishmen that do not appear in the London papers. You can also get advice, from both sides of the counter. Here is a piece that I have seen hung up at Dorchester and Sherborne:

*Be Happy*  
Call Frequently  
Drink Heartily



Pay Honourably  
 Be Good Company  
 Part Friendly  
 Go Home Quietly.

We may suspect that this was written by the 'management', but if their beer remains as good as this good sense (it was so, then) long may they flourish.

This is a book about places, not about myself, so I have not padded it with the stories that one picks up by the way; but I cannot omit a tale that was heard by one of my friends. It had no preamble, but shot like a comet across the bar-parlour of a Suffolk inn, to burst in laughter. The company saw that my friend was a 'foreigner', and seemed to be looking to their raconteur-in-chief to show what he could do. At length, with slow speech and expressive gestures, he delivered himself of this. Read it aloud, very deliberately, and pause at every stop.

'e takes a quart o' water, an' 'e boils it down to a pint. Then 'e skims the cream off, an' with that 'e makes TWO WIND PILLS . . . an' you takes one just after you goes to sleep at night, an' the other just before you wakes up in the morning.'

The wireless announcers have not destroyed the flavour of dialect. Naturally the speech that springs to my lips is that of my own Black Country. At its richest it is an earnest and reflective way of talking, very *legato*, with a solemn intonation that lends gravity to the simplest remark. It retains many inflexions that modern English has lost, and perhaps a list of some of them will remind you of those of your own native place.

The present tense of the verb *to be* runs thus: *I bin, thee bist (thee'st)*, he is, *we bin (we'm)*, *yo bin (yo'm)*, *they bin*

(*they'm*). The negative is *I bay*, and continues with *bay*, except for *thee bisn't* and *he ay*. Others I will give in a table.

Shast or shat	= shalt thou
Woot	= wilt thou
Cost	= canst thou
Caw	= cannot
Wo	= will not
Share	= shall not
Woosn't or wootn't	= wilt thou not
Cosn't	= canst thou not

In answering questions, will is sometimes *woon*: 'Woot diw it? Ah, I woon.' In these words the double -o has the same sound as in 'wood'. I shall not write out a specimen of the dialect. It would require a delicate apparatus of phonetics, and even with that you would miss the harmonies and overtones that only the spoken word can give. But here are three small peculiarities.

*A* before *n* is often sounded like *o*, as in *bonk*, *con*, *stond*; we even say *boffled* for 'baffled'; yet after *w*, which generally makes *a* like *o*, we may keep *a*, as in *wasp*, while wash to us is *wesh*.

Certificate is always *cerstificate*.

Watling Street has become almost a personal name, so houses on it are situated in the Watling Street Road. At Ironbridge you can see an official metal plate bearing the three words.

When you go about to enjoy yourself, you want to see and hear; to read the face of the countryside, not the printed page; yet most of us have one book whose companionship we welcome even in the open air. Mine is *An Inland Voyage*, and if you have not read it I commend it to you; if you have,

you will not quarrel with the choice. In its gentle and engaging discursiveness you can find a whole philosophy of travel, and its vignettes of adventures by the way contain more wisdom than twenty solemn treatises.

How reluctantly we end our holiday; yet we are glad to be at home. We have increased the range of what we see, and the time has come to increase the richness of what we can imagine. But have we really seen our own small familiar world, those streets and fields and buildings that we have looked at not ten times but hundreds of times? We take their existence for granted, but they are as dead as a door-nail unless we see that a door-nail also is alive—alive with the purpose of the men who made and used it, of the smelters, the miners, and those remoter folk who first learned to extract the metal from the ore.

I live in an Essex village where the damp clay is divided by ridges and pockets of flinty gravel. Once upon a time men may have dug shelters in that gravel, if the heavy forest that grew on the clay did not keep them away, and made themselves tools and weapons of the flint, and of pointed stakes hardened in the fire. Anyway, I have seen a bronze axe that was dug up in a garden here, and there are two camps of the Iron Age across the valley in neighbouring parishes. A Roman road runs past my door, and Romans dwelt on one of the gravel patches, for their pots and coins have been unearthed and their rubbish found in a choked-up well.

There are limes along the road, and the Saxons chose lime-wood for their shields because it is light and tough. Harold held most of the village from Edward the Confessor, and in his portion there was wood enough for 800 swine, thirty-one acres of meadow, and a mill by the stream; six free men held

another piece, but Domesday Book records that Robert Greno had it in 1086, 'by the gift of the king so Robert himself says'. The Normans built a church, and their nave is the present south aisle; the doorway is as they left it. At the end of the Middle Ages the church was extended, and you can see the pillars and windows and wooden bell-turret built then.

Three years before the Armada, Robert Rampston left money for the poor, as an inscription records, and in 1629 the Archbishop of York, once the Vicar, founded the school. His building remains—William Penn was taught in it—and his bearded face looks down from a large brass in the church, while the village inn and a number of the houses were built in his lifetime or soon after he died. The headmaster's dining-room contains a fireplace and cornice with designs that the Adam brothers used in the Adelphi Terrace. The inn claims to be the 'Maypole' of *Barnaby Rudge*, and Dickens wrote part of the book in the old house opposite. A couple of hundred yards up the road is an ugly dwelling in the style of the Gothic revival, where I lived happily for ten years; and if you return to the church again you can find a tablet erected to George Shillibeer, 'Inventor of the London Omnibus'.

Here is a part of the history of one village: an ordinary sort of village, except that no place is an ordinary place. Wherever you live, your home has a tale of similar interest, if only you are ready to listen. There is no need to seek the countryside, for the effort and enthusiasm and mistakes that have made an industrial town are as romantic as the story hidden in the serenity of broad fields or a quiet churchyard. The need is for the seeing eye and the attentive ear and the inquiring mind.

I must lay down my pen. If you have read so far, and I have written as I intended, you may share my conviction that

what we call the past is a reality, without which what we call the present would be but a dream. It is a part of us, and we belong to it as the acorn belongs to the oak; and in striving to understand it we begin to learn to understand ourselves.

### FURTHER READING

Besides the books mentioned after the several chapters, the following publications are of general interest.

The Rt. Hon. W. ORMSBY GORE when First Commissioner of Works wrote three interesting and well-illustrated pamphlets on the Ancient Monuments in the custody of the Office of Works in Northern England, Southern England, and East Anglia and the Midlands (H.M. Stationery Office, 1s. each).

*The Little Guides* (Methuen, mostly 6s. each) vary in quality but as a series are invaluable. There is one for each county, and they are packed with information. I am greatly indebted to them, and never travel without one.

*The Reports of the Historical Monuments Commission* (H.M. Stationery Office, as far as published) cover the period to 1715. They are bulky and not for the pocket, but immensely detailed and fully illustrated. Those on English counties are authoritative; those on Wales have not all received a good press.

*The Victoria County Histories*—also massive, and for detailed reference. Not yet completed.

*The Dictionary of National Biography*, with its supplements, for the personal side.

*The Illustrated London News*, *Country Life*; various architectural and artistic periodicals; many articles and notes in *The Times* and other newspapers.

And if you would live in a period of the past, read its literature. For a start try Chaucer, Pepys, *The Spectator*, Boswell, the eighteenth-century novelists, Jane Austen, Borrow, and Trollope.

## APPENDIX

### PLACES OF INTEREST

THOUGH it occupies 94 pages, this appendix is only a selection. It is arranged by counties, the Welsh following the English, and is subdivided to correspond with the chapters. I shall be grateful if readers will inform me, *with full details*, of places of real interest that I ought to have included, and of any that were better omitted.

The following notes and abbreviations concern the subdivisions.

#### EARLY MEN.

- $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} T = \text{Tomb or Burial Chamber of the } \textit{cromlech} \text{ type, or Barrow} \\ \quad \text{of which the interior can be inspected.} \\ C = \text{Cist.} \\ S = \text{Standing Stone or Stone Row.} \\ O = \text{Circle.} \end{array} \right.$
- $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} N = \text{New Stone Age.} \\ BR = \text{Bronze Age.} \\ I = \text{Iron Age.} \end{array} \right.$
- IA, IB, IC = Iron Age A, B, C.

A *Fogou*, see Cornwall, is an underground habitation or place of refuge.

#### SAXON.

Under this heading appear all churches retaining Saxon work, not under the next. Unless otherwise stated, the heading **Crosses** includes all pre-conquest carved or inscribed stones.

#### CHURCHES.

Churches in the Norman, Early English, Decorated and Perpendicular Styles are separately mentioned only where they are complete, or almost complete, examples of those styles. Nearly all parish churches are mixed in style, and a number of interesting ones appear under the heading **Church Furniture**, although their chief attraction is in architectural details. These are marked (A), but many not thus marked are also of much structural interest, apart from their fittings.

## MONASTERIES AND CATHEDRALS.

In addition to the monasteries listed here, many of the cathedrals have considerable remains of monastic buildings. Cathedrals are omitted from the Appendix, as there is a complete list at the beginning of Chapter X. See also final note under Castles.

## HOUSES.

Where the name of a town or village stands alone, there are a number of attractive houses or cottages to see. Houses of particular interest are often mentioned by name, but such mention does not imply that there are no other houses of interest at that place.

## CASTLES.

M = Mound  
 M and B = Mound and Bailey { Survivals of the primitive Norman castle, without later additions.

TH = Tower-house, a border stronghold, not so large as a castle.

Town walls and gates are also listed under castles. The most complete castles and monasteries are those listed without any comment.

## GENERAL NOTES.

(1) The names of towns, parishes, villages and hamlets are not printed in italics, which are reserved for the names of actual monuments. So if you know the name of a monument but not that of the place where it is, you can look through the names in italics.

(2) Fragmentary remains are marked (frag).

(3) Numbers in Roman figures stand for centuries.

(4) *Ancient Monuments of Great Britain* (H.M.S.O., 1936, 1s. 3d.) is a most useful pamphlet containing 4,400 names. It includes many Barrows, Bridges and Market Crosses, besides some of the monuments listed here.

## ENGLAND

## BEDFORDSHIRE

**EARLY MEN. Habitations.** Caddington: Hut circles on Zouches Farm. **Hill-Forts and Camps.** Dunstable: *Maiden Bower*. Limbury: *Wallud's Bank*. Sandy: *Caesar's Camp* (1c). **Museum.** Bedford Modern School.

**ROMAN. Camp.** Sandy: *Galley Hill Camp* (possibly).

**SAXON. Fortifications.** Tempsford: *The Gannicks*. Willington: *The Harbour or Docks*. **Strip Lynchets.** Totternhoe: south-east of *Totternhoe Castle*. **Churches.** *St. Peter* Bedford, Clapham, Stevington.

**CHURCHES. Early English.** Felmersham. **Furniture.** Blunham, Cople, Over Dean, Eaton Bray, Eaton Socon, Felmersham, Hatley Cockayne (key at Potton Vicarage), Houghton Conquest, Leighton Buzzard, Luton, Marston Morteyne, Meppershall, Shelton, Stevington, Sutton, Swineshead, Turvey, Wymington.

**MONASTERIES.** Compton: *Chicksands Priory* (part of house). Dunstable: Parish Church, gateway and wall. Eaton Socon: *Bushmead Priory* (refectory only).

**HOUSES.** Ampthill. Aspley Guise: *The Old House* and *Aspley House*. Great and Little Barford. Barton-in-the-Clay: *Rectory*. Bedford. Beeston. Biddenham. Biggleswade (xviii brick). Blunham. Bromham. Upper Caldecote. Campton: *Manor House*. Cardington. Clophill. Colmworth. Eaton Socon. Elstow. Felmersham: a barn. Flitwick. Harrold. Henlow: *The Grange*. Hinwick. Hockliffe (xviii brick). Houghton Conquest. *Houghton Regis Hall*. Knotting. Leighton Buzzard. Lidlington. Marston Morteyne: *Moat Farm*. Maulden. Melchbourne. Meppershall. Milton Ernest. Odell. Pertenhall: *Manor House*. Podington. Potton. Ravensden. Riseley. Roxton. Salford. Sandy. Sharnbrook: *The Tofte*. Shefford. Shillington. Southill. Stotfold. Swineshead. Tilbrook. Toddington (xviii brick). Totternhoe. Wilden. Willington: *Manor Farm* and *Pigeon House*. Woburn. Wrestlingworth. Yelden.

**CASTLES.** Great Barford: *The Creakers* (M and B). Bedford (M). Clophill: *Cainhoe Castle* (M and B). Eaton Socon: *The Hillings* (M and B). Flitwick (M and B). Higham Gobion (? M and B). Meppershall: *The Hills* (M and B). Someries: ruined gate-house and towers. Thurleigh: *Bury Hill* (M and B). Toddington: *Conger Hill* (M). Totternhoe (M and B).

## BERKSHIRE

**EARLY MEN. Rough Stone Monuments.** Ashbury: *Wayland's Smithy* (T). **Hill-Forts and Camps.** Ashbury: *Alfred's Castle* (1A and 1C). Great Coxwell: *Badbury Camp*. Easthampstead:



*Caesar's Camp*. Hampstead Norris: *Grimsbury Castle*. Inkpen: *Walbury Camp*. Letcombe Regis: *Letcombe Castle*. Longworth: *Cherbury Camp* (IA). Uffington: *Uffington Castle* (IA) and the *White Horse*. Little Wittenham: *Sinodun* (IA). **Museum**. Reading.

ROMAN. **Museum**. Reading. For Silchester see Hampshire.

SAXON. **Earthworks**. Streatley: *Grim's Ditch*. Wallingford: walls of *burh*. **Strip Lynchets**. Blewbury: on Blewburton Hill. **Church**. Wickham (tower). **Crosses**. Sonning, Stratfield Mortimer, Wantage.

CHURCHES. Norman. Avington. Early English. Uffington. Decorated. Shottesbrook. Perpendicular. *St. George's Chapel* Windsor. Furniture. Aldermaston, Aldworth, Baulking, Blewbury, Bucklebury, Childrey, Cumnor, Drayton, West Hanney, West Hendred, Hurst, Lambourn, North Moreton, Shottesbrook, Sparsholt, Stanford-in-the-Vale, Steventon, Sutton Courtenay, Wantage, Warfield, Long Wittenham.

MONASTERIES. Remains at Abingdon, Hurley, and Reading. Tithe barn at Great Coxwell.

HOUSES. Abingdon. Appleton: *Ardington House*. Ashbury: *Chapel Manor House* and *Ashdown Park*. Aston Tirrold: *Manor House*. *Basildon House*. *Binfield Place*. Blewbury. Boxford. Bray. Brightwalther. Brightwell. Brimpton. Bucklebury. *Charney Wick*. Childrey. Chilton. *Coleshill House*. Compton. Cookham. Denchworth. Faringdon. South Fawley: *Manor House*. Finchampstead. Fyfield. East and West Hagbourne. Hampstead Marshall: *Hampstead Lodge*. West Hanney. Harwell. East and West Hendred. Hurst. East Ilsley (xviii brick). Kingston Bagpuize: *Kingston House*. Lambourn. Maidenhead: *Almshouses*. Marcham. Milton. North and South Moreton. Moulshford. Newbury. *Padworth House*. Reading. *Sandleford Priory*. Shalbourne: *Manor House*. *Shaw House*. Shellingford: *Rectory*. Sonning. Sparsholt. Stanford Dingley: *Vicarage*. Stanford-in-the-Vale: *Manor Farm*. Streatley. Sutton Courtenay. Thatcham. Three Mile Cross. Tilehurst: *Calcot House*. *Upton Court*. Wallingford. Waltham St. Lawrence. White Waltham. Wantage. Wargrave. Long and Little Wittenham. Wokingham. *West Woodhay House*. Woolhampton. Wytham.

CASTLES. Donington (gateway). Hinton Waldrist (M and B). Reading (M). Wallingford (M and B). Windsor.

## BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

**EARLY MEN. Hill-Forts and Camps.** Cholesbury. Hedgerley: *Bulstrode Camp* (1A and 1C). Great Kimble: *Pulpit Hill Camp*. Wavendon: *Danesborough* (1C). High Wycombe: *Desborough Castle. Museum.* Aylesbury.

**ROMAN. Villa.** Remains in Great Penn Mead, High Wycombe. **Museum.** Hambleden.

**SAXON. Earthwork.** *Grim's Ditch*, best seen at the Hampdens. **Strip Lynchets.** Cheddington. **Churches.** Lavendon, Wing.

**CHURCHES. Norman.** Stewkley. **Decorated.** Milton Keynes, Olney. **Perpendicular.** Maids Moreton. **Furniture.** Bledlow, Chalfont St. Giles, Chenies (Russell Chapel), Middle Claydon, North Crawley, Dorney, Dunton, Edlesborough, Little Hampden, Hillesden, Hitcham, Little Horwood, Ivinghoe, Clifton Keynes, Little Kimble, Langley, Leckhampstead, Little Missenden, Penn, Ravenstone, Turwestone, Twyford, Upton (A), Weston Turville, Whitchurch, Upper Winchendon, Winslow (also the *Baptist Chapel*).

**MONASTERIES.** Bradwell: remains of Priory Chapel. Burnham: considerable remains, now occupied by Nuns. Long Crendon: *Notley Abbey*. Wyrardisbury: Nunnery (frag).

**HOUSES.** Adstock. Akeley. Amersham. Aston Clinton. Astwood. Aylesbury. Beaconsfield. Bierton. Bledlow. Bletchley: the old village. Boarstall. Bow and Great Brickhill. Brill. Buckingham. Burnham. Calverton: *Manor House*. Chalfont St. Giles and St. Peter. Chearsley. Cheddington. Chenies: *Manor House*. Chesham. Chetwode: *Manor House*. *Chicheley Hall*. Steeple Claydon. Creslow: *Manor House*. Cuddington. Denham. *Dinton Hall*. Dorney Court. Dorton House. Drayton Parslow. Edgcott. Edlesborough. Emberton. Eton. *Gayhurst House*. Haddenham. Hambleden. Great Hampden: *Hampden House*. Hanslope, and surrounding hamlets. *Hartwell House*. Hawridge. Hoggston. Hollingdon. Horton: *Ostrich Inn*. Great Horwood. Ickford: *Rectory*. Iver: *Parsonage Farm*. Ivinghoe. Langley Marish. Lillingstone Lovell. Great Linford. *Little Linford Hall*. Long Crendon. Loughton. Ludgershall. Maids Moreton. Marlow. Marsh Gibbon. Great Missenden. Newport Pagnell. Newton Longville. Oakley. Olney. Padbury. Penn. Preston Bissett. Monks and

Princes Risborough. Singleborough. Soulbury. Stewkley. Stoke Hammond. Stoke Mandeville. Stokenchurch. Stoke Poges: *Manor House* and *Tithe Farm*. *Stowe School*. Stony Stratford (xviii). Water Stratford. Swanbourne. Thornborough. Tingewick. Towersey. Walton: *Manor House*. Wavendon. Wendover. Weston Turville. Weston Underwood. Whaddon. Whitchurch. Lower Winchendon. Winslow. Wooburn: *Deyncourt Farm*. Woughton-on-the-Green. High and West Wycombe. Wyrardisbury.

CASTLES. Castle Thorpe. Ellesborough. Little Kimble: *Cymbeline's Mount*. Lavendon. Weston Turville. Whitchurch: *Bolebec Castle*. (All M and B.)

## CAMBRIDGESHIRE

EARLY MEN. **Hill-Forts and Camps.** Cherry Hinton: *The War Ditches* (IA and IC). Fulbourn: *Wandlebury Camp* (IA and IC). Willingham: *Belsar's Hill Camp*. **Museums.** Cambridge: *Archaeological Museum*. Wisbech.

ROMAN. The *Car Dyke* near Waterbeach. Romano-British settlement near Honey Bridge, Wimblington. Monoliths in nave arcade of Ickleton Church. **Museums.** Cambridge.

SAXON. **Earthworks.** *Devil's Dyke*, *Fleam Ditch*, *Brent Ditch*, *Bran Ditch*. **Church.** *St. Benet* Cambridge (tower). **Crosses.** Ely Cathedral, Little Shelford. **Landscape.** *Burwell Fen* and *Wicken Fen*, in the hands of the National Trust, give some idea of the former nature of the Fens.

CHURCHES. **Norman.** *Holy Sepulchre* Cambridge. **Decorated.** Elsworth. **Perpendicular.** Burwell. Cambridge: *King's College Chapel*. **Furniture.** Babraham, Balsham, Barrington, Bartlow, Barton, Bottisham, Burwell, Cherry Hinton, Chippenham, Foxton, Fulbourn (St. Vigor), Guilden Morden, Harlton, Ickleton, Isleham, Kingston, Landbeach, Leverington, Over, Rampton, Soham, Long Stanton (A), Stretham, Sutton (A), Swaffham Bulbeck, Willingham.

MONASTERIES. Thorney: existing church. Waterbeach: *Denny Priory*.

HOUSES. *Babraham Hall* (1832). Barrington. Cambridge (especially College Halls). Chesterton: *Rector's House*. Duxford. Elm. Eltisle. Ely. Fulbourn. Grantchester. Haddenham. Has-

lingfield: *Manor House. Hatley Park.* Hildersham. Horseheath. Ickleton. *Impington Hall. Kirtling Hall*, gate tower. Linton. Madingley. March. Melbourn. Meldreth. Newmarket. Rampton. *Sawston Hall.* Great Shelford. Shepreth. Snailwell. Soham. Sutton. Swavesey. Thriplow. Upwell. Waterbeach. Whittlesy. Whittlesford. Wicken. Wilburton: *Manor House.* Willingham. Wisbech.

CASTLES. Burwell: part of wall and moat. Cambridge (M). Ely (M and B).

## CHESHIRE

EARLY MEN. **Rough Stone Monument.** Congleton: *The Bridestones* (o and s). **Hill-Forts and Camps.** Bickerton: *Maiden Castle.* Delamere: *Castle Ditch, Eddisbury and Oakmere Camp.* Frodsham: *Bradley Camp and Woodhouse Hill Camp.* Helsby *Hill Camp.* Kelsall: *Kellsborough Castle.* **Museum.** Chester.

ROMAN. Remodelled Walls at Chester. **Museum.** Chester: *Grosvenor Museum.*

SAXON. **Earthwork.** *Castle Ditch,* Eddisbury re-used as *burh.* **Crosses.** Astbury, Bromborough, *St. John* Chester, Disley, West Kirby, Prestbury, Sandbach (Market Place).

CHURCHES. **Perpendicular.** Astbury. **Furniture.** Astbury, Baddiley (A), Bunbury, Macclesfield, Malpas, Marton (A), Middlewich, Nantwich, Northenden, Prestbury, Shotwick, Warburton (A).

MONASTERIES. Birkenhead: ruins of *Priory.* *Norton Priory* (ancient portions).

HOUSES. Acton: *Dorfold Hall. Adlington Hall.* Alderley Edge. *Arley Hall* (3 m. NW. of Knutsford). *Baguley Hall* (2½ m. E. of Altrincham). *Bramhall Hall.* Brereton. Bromborough. Broxton. Cheadle: *Moseley Hall.* Chester. *Chorley Hall* (near Alderley Edge). Congleton. Disley: *Lyme Hall. Doddington Hall* (late xviii). *Eaton Hall* (mid-xix, 3½ m. S. of Chester). Frodsham. Gawsworth. Grappenhall. Halton. *Handforth Hall. Haslington Hall. Hollingworth Old Hall.* Knutsford. *Lawton Hall.* Macclesfield. Malpas. Marbury-with-Quoisley. *Marple Hall. Marton Hall. Little Moreton Hall.* Mottram in Longdendale. Nantwich. Neston. Northenden: *Wythenshaw Hall.* Northwich. *Odde Rode Old Hall. Oulton Park* (near little Budworth). *Over Peover Hall.*

Plumbley: *Holford Hall*. Pool Hall. Poynton Hall. Prestbury. Saughton: *The Grange*. Sandbach. Stockport. *Storeton Hall*. *Stretton Old Hall*. Swettenham. Nether Tabley. Tarporley. *Toft Hall* (2 m. SE. of Knutsford). Twemlow: *Old Manor House*. Wallasey: *Leasowe Castle*. Weaverham: *Crowton Hall*. Wilmslow. Wincle: *The Grange*.

CASTLES. Aldford: keep and some earthworks. Beeston. Chester: modernized. Halton: ruinous. Shocklach: *Castle Mound* (M).

## CORNWALL

EARLY MEN. **Rough Stone Monuments.** Blisland: *Stripple Stones* and *Trippet Stones* (o). St. Breoke: Pawton (r). St. Breward: Stannon, Fernacre, and Leaze (o). St. Buryan: *Boscawen-ûn* (o), Boleigh (o, s) and Crean (c). Camborne: Caerwynen (r). St. Cleer: *Trethevy Quoit* (r). St. Columb Major: *The Nine Maidens* (o). Constantine: *Tolven Cross*, Gweek (r). Duloe (o). Gulval: Boskednan (o). St. Just-in-Penwith: Tregiffian Vean (r), Carn Gluze (r), Chapel Carn Brea (r) and Tregaseal (r, much ruined, o). St. Keverne: *The Three Brothers of Grugith* (c). Linkinhorne: *The Hurlers* (o), and (c) in barrow above. Madron: *Lanyon Quoit* (r), *Mên-an-tol* (r, remnant), and Mulfra Hill (r). Morvah: *Chûn Quoit* (r). Sancreed: Brane (r). Sennen (c). Wendron (o). Zennor: Pennance (r), Treen (r), *Zennor Quoit* (r), and Bosporthenis (c). In the Scilly Isles are many burial-chambers—17 on St. Mary's Island, 5 on The Gugh, 12 on Samson, 5 on Arthur, 8 on Bryher, and 5 on other islands. **Habitations.** St. Breward: Rough Tor (? BR). St. Buryan: Boleigh (fogou). Constantine: *Pixie's Hall* (fogou—r). Gulval: Chysauster, village (IB). Madron: villages (I) at Mulfra Hill and Bossulow Crellas. Mawgan-in-Meneage: Trelowarren (fogou). Mullion: Penhale, village. Sancreed: village (I) at Goldherring and fogou called *Carn* or *Chapel Euny*. Wendron: village (BR) at Calvadnack Hill. Zennor: Bosporthenis, beehive hut. **Hill-Forts and Camps.** St. Breward: Rough Tor (? BR). St. Columb Major: *Castle-an-Dinas* (I). St. Columb Minor: Trevelgue Head. Damelioc. St. Germoe: Tregonning Hill (I). Gulval: *Castle-an-Dinas* (I). St. Hilary: North Treveague (I). Illogan: Carn Brea (IB). St. Just-in-Penwith: *Kenidjack Castle*. St. Kew: *Tregear Rounds* (IB). Lelant: Trencrom Hill (IB). St. Levan: Treen cliff castle. Linkinhorne: Stowe's Hill

(? BR). Morvah: *Chûn Castle* (IB) Probus: Golden (I). Sennen: *Maen Castle*. St. Thomas-by-Launceston: Kestle (I). Week St. Mary: Ashbury. Museums. Penzance, Truro.

ROMAN. Milestones at St. Breage church, St. Hilary churchyard, Tintagel church, and by a house at Trethevy,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  m. E. of Tintagel. Museum. Bodmin Public Library.

SAXON. Earthwork. *The Giant's Hedge*, from Lerryn to West Looe, may be of Saxon date. Churches. St. Pieran,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  m. NE. of Perranporth. Remains of monastery at Tintagel. Inscribed Stones in the churches or churchyards at Cardinham, St. Columb Major, St. Cubert, Cuby, St. Hilary, St. Just-in-Penwith, St. Kew, Lanivet, Lanteglos-by-Camelford, Lanteglos-by-Fowey, Lewannick, Phillack. Crosses in the churches or churchyards at St. Breage, Cardinham, St. Erth, Gulval, St. Just-in-Penwith, Lanivet, Lanhydrock, Ludgvan (in tower staircase), St. Neot, Padstow, Par, Phillack, Sancreed. There are many other inscribed stones and crosses, but this is a representative selection. Most are much worn and hard to decipher. There are a few hogbacks, the best—and that very worn—in Lanivet churchyard.

CHURCHES. Perpendicular. Launceston, Probus; and nearly all Cornish churches were rebuilt in this style. Furniture. Altar-nun, Bodmin, St. Breage, St. Buryan, Cardinham, St. Clement, St. Columb Major, St. Germans, St. Ives, St. Keverne, St. Kew, Kilkhampton, Landewednack, Landulph, Launcells, Launceston, St. Levan, Liskeard, Marhamchurch, Mawgan-in-Pydar, Minver, Mullion, Padstow, Poughill, Poundstock, Sheviock, Stratton.

MONASTERIES. Launceston Priory (remains, including Norman door at the White Hart Hotel), St. Michael's Mount, Tintagel.

HOUSES. Boconnoc: *Manor House*. Cotehele House (5 m. E. of Callington). Crackington. Fowey: *Place House*. Godolphin Hall (5 m. NW. of Helston). St. Ives. *Lanhydrock House*. Launceston. Looe. Mawgan-in-Pydar: *Lanherne*. Morwenstow: *Tonacombe*. Mousehole: *The Keigwin Arms*. Newlyn. *Pencarrow* ( $3\frac{1}{2}$  m. N. of Bodmin). Penryn. Polperro. Roseworthy. Saltash. Stratton. Tintagel: old *Post House*. *Trelowarren House*. Truro. Hugh Town, St. Mary's, Scilly Isles, has many houses of the period 1800–20, and on the mainland the most interesting houses are often those built after 1720.

**CASTLES.** Falmouth: *Pendennis Castle*, and St. Mawes (both temp. Henry VIII). Fowey (temp. Henry VIII). Launceston (also south gate of town walls). Pengersick (temp. Henry VIII). Restormel. Tintagel. Trematon.

## CUMBERLAND

**EARLY MEN. Rough Stone Monuments.** Boot: on Burn Moor (o). Keswick: on Castlerigg, *Druid's Circle* (o). Millom: on Swinside Fell, *Sunkenkirk Circle* (o). Little Salkeld: *Long Meg and her Daughters* (o). Setmurthy: on Elva Hill (o). Whitbeck (s). **Habitation.** Muncaster: *Barnscar Settlement* on Birkby Fell. **Hill-Forts and Camps.** Dacre: *Dunmallet*. Thirlmere (near): *Shoulthwaite Castle*. Torpenhow: *Caermote*. **Museums.** Carlisle, Keswick.

**ROMAN. Hadrian's Wall. Forts.** Boot: *Hardknott Castle*. Maryport. Moresby. Papcastle. Plumpton Wall: *Old Penrith*. Wigton: *Old Carlisle*. **Museums.** Carlisle: *Tullie House*. Maryport: *Netherhall*.

**SAXON. Crosses.** Addingham, High Aikton, Aspatria, Beckermest, St. Bees, Bewcastle, Bridekirk, Brigham, Bromfield, Carlisle, Great Clifton, Crosscanonby, Dacre, Dearham, Gosforth, Haile, Harrington, Irton, Isel, Muncaster, Penrith, Plumbland, Rockliffe, Waberthwaite, Workington (frag).

**CHURCHES. Norman.** Kirklington. **Furniture.** Burgh-by-Sands (A), Dacre, Dearham, Edenhall, Greystoke, Isel, *St. Kentigern* Keswick, *Holy Trinity* Millom, Mungrisdale, Newton Arlosh (A), Penrith, Great Salkeld.

**MONASTERIES.** Abbey Town: *St. Cuthbert's Abbey*. Ainstable: Nunnery, now a farm house. *Lanercost Priory*. *Wetheral Priory*: Gatehouse.

**HOUSES.** Alston. Armathwaite. Beckermest: *Salter Hall*. Brampton. *Branthwaite Hall*. Carlisle. Cockermouth. *Dalston Hall*. *Nether Denton Hall*. *Eden Hall* (1820). Ennerdale: *How Hall*. *Hayton Castle*, near Aspatria. Hutton-in-the-Forest: *Hall*. Irton *Hall*. Isel *Hall*. Kirkoswald. *Lamplugh Hall*. Newton Reigny: *Catterlen Hall*. Penrith. Skelton. Whitbeck.

**CASTLES.** Aikton: *Down Hall* (earthworks and moat). Carlisle: much modernized. Cockermouth. Egremont. Irthington (M). Kirkandrews-on-Esk: *Liddel Strength* (M and B). Millom. Naworth. Penrith. Scaleby. Stapleton: *Shank Castle* (tower and ruins).

## DERBYSHIRE

**EARLY MEN. Rough Stone Monuments.** Belper: *The Nine Ladies* (o), on Stanton Moor. Brassington: *Minninglow* (r). Chapel-en-le-Frith (o). Eyam: *The Wet Withens* (o), on Eyam Moor. Parsley Hay: *Arbor Low* (o). **Habitations.** Buxton: *Poole's Hole. Cresswell Caves.* **Hill-Forts and Camps.** Castleton: on Maen Tor. Chapel-en-le-Frith: on Comb Moss. Cresswell: *Markland Grips Camp.* Glossop: *Torside Castle.* Hathersage: *Carl's Wark.* **Museums.** Buxton, Derby.

**ROMAN. Forts.** Bradwell: *Brough Camp.* Glossop: *Melandra.* **Museum.** Buxton.

**SAXON. Churches.** Repton (crypt and chancel), Stanton-by-Bridge. **Crosses.** Ashbourne, Aston-upon-Trent, Bakewell, Blackwell, Bradbourne, Brailsford, Darley Dale (frag), *St. Alkmund* Derby, Eyam, *Fernilee Hall*, Hartington, Hope, Ludworth, Norbury, Spondon, Wirksworth.

**CHURCHES. Norman.** Melbourne, Steetley. **Furniture.** Ashbourne, Ashford, Ashover, Aston-upon-Trent (A), Bakewell, Bradbourne, Brampton, Breadsall (A), Chaddesden, Chelmorton, Chesterfield, Crich, Darley Dale, Dovebridge (A), Eckington (A), Fenny Bentley, Foremark, West Hallam (A), Hope, Ilkeston, Kedleston, Kirk Langley, Longford, Longstone (A), Morley, Mugginton, Norbury, Radbourne, Repton, Sawley, Staveley, Tideswell, Whitwell (A), Wilne, Wirksworth (A), Youlgrave.

**MONASTERIES.** *Beauchief Abbey. Dale Abbey* (frag). Repton. Yeaveley: ruins of chapel of Hospitallers.

**HOUSES.** Abney. Ashford. *Alfreton Park.* Alport. Alsop-en-le-Dale: *Hall.* Ashbourne. Bakewell. *Barlborough Hall. Barton Blount Hall.* Baslow. Beeley. Belper. Bonsall. Brassington. Buxton. Chapel-en-le-Frith. *Chatsworth House.* Church Broughton. Cromford: *Arkwright's Cotton Mill* (1771). Derby. Derwent



Woodlands: *Derwent Hall*. Dronfield. Edale. Etwall. *Foremark Hall*. *Haddon Hall*. *Hardwick Hall*. *Hassop Hall*. Holloway. *Kedleston Hall*. Langwith. *Mackworth Castle*. Marston-on-Dove. Marston. Montgomery. Matlock. Melbourne: *Hall* and *Barn*. Morton. *North Lees* (1 m. N. of Hathersage). Parwich. Repton. Riber. *Risley Hall*. *Somershall Hall*. *Sudbury Hall*. Taddington. Whitwell. South Wingfield: *Manor House*. Winstar. Wirksworth.

CASTLES. Bakewell: *Castle Hill* (M and B). Bretby (frag). Castleton: *Peak Castle*. Duffield (frag). Heanor: *Codnor Castle*. Holmesfield (M).

## DEVONSHIRE

EARLY MEN. **Rough Stone Monuments**. Belstone: *The Nine Maidens* (o). North Bovey: Challacombe Common (s). South Brent: Corringdon Ball (c). Drewsteignton: *The Spinster's Rock* (T). Gidleigh: Buttern Hill (o), Scorhill (o), Chagford Common (s, c). Harford: in Erme valley (s, o, c). Manaton: Hound Tor (c). Peter Tavy: Launceston Moor (o). Postbridge: Sittaford Tor, *The Grey Wethers* (o). Princetown:  $3\frac{1}{2}$  m. N., the *Beardown Man* (s); SE. of Merrivale (c, s, o). Ugborough: several stone rows on the Moor. **Habitations**. North Bovey: *Grimspond* (BR) and hut circles on Shapley Common. South Brent: *The Rings*, near Brent Moor. Gidleigh: *The Round Pound*. Harford: in Erme valley, *Erme Pound* and various hut circles. Holne: hut circles on moors to west. Manaton: hut circles at Heatree. Peter Tavy: hut circles on White Tor, Roos Tor, and Cox Tor. Postbridge: many remains of hut circles near. Princetown: hut circles south-east of Merrivale and on Walkhampton Common. Shaugh Prior: many hut circles to the east. Torquay: *Kent's Cavern*. Widecombe-in-the-Moor: hut circles to the south-west. **Hill-Forts and Camps**. Axmouth: *Hawkesdown Camp*. Bridestowe: *Burley Wood Camp*. *Cadbury Castle*. Chudleigh: *Castle Dyke Camp*. Clovelly Dykes. Countisbury: *Old Barrow Castle*. Drewsteignton: *Cranbrook Castle* (IB) and *Prestonbury*. Halwell: *Stanborough Camp*. Hartland: on Embury Beacon and Windbury Head. Holne: *Hembury Camp*. Honiton: *Dumpton Camp*. *Membury Castle*. *Northcott Wood Camp*. Payhembury: *Hembury Castle* (N and IB). Plympton St. Mary: *Boringdon Camp*. Southleigh: *Blackbury Castle*. *Woodbury Castle*. **Museums**. Exeter, Plymouth.

**SAXON. Earthworks.** Lydford. **Inscribed Stones.** Lustleigh, Stowford, Tavistock, and Yealmpton.

**CHURCHES. Perpendicular.** Ashburton, Colyton, Tiverton, Totnes. **Furniture.** Abbotsham, East Allington, Alphington, Alwington, Ashton, Atherington, Bampton, Beer Ferris, Berry Pomeroy, Blackawton, North Bovey, Bovey Tracey, Bradninch, Bratton Clovelly, Braunton, Bridford, Upper Brixham, Broadhempston, Broadwood Widger, Brushford, Buckland-in-the-Moor, East Budleigh, Burrington, Chawleigh, Chittlehampton, Chivellstone, Chudleigh, Colebrooke, Coleridge, Colyton, Combe-in-Teignhead, Cruwys Morehard, Cullompton, Dartmouth, East Down, Ermington, Feniton, Halberton, Harberton, Hartland, Holcombe Regis, Holne, Ilsington, Ipplepen, Kenn, Kentisbeare, Kenton, Kingsnympton, Lapford, North Lew, Lew Trenchard, Littlehempston, Lustleigh, Marwood, South Milton, Monkleigh, Morchard Bishop, Mortehoe, East and West Ogwell, Ottery St. Mary, Paignton, Pilton, Plymtree, South Pool, Portlemouth, Sherford, Staverton, Stoke-in-Teignhead, Stokenham, Sutcombe, Swimbridge, Talaton, Tawstock, Torbrian, Totnes, Uffculme, Ugborough, Washfield, Welcombe, Willand, Wolborough.

**MONASTERIES.** Buckfast Abbey. Churchstow. Exeter: *St. Nicholas Priory*. Frithelstock. Tavistock: various fragments. Torquay: *Torre Abbey*.

**HOUSES.** Abbotskerswell: *Church House*. West Alvington: *Bowringsleigh*. Appledore. Ashburton. Atherington. Axmouth. Barnstaple. Beer: *Bovey House*. Beer Alston. Bickington. Bickleigh. Bideford. North Bovey. Bradford: *Dunsland House*. East Budleigh: *Hayes Barton*, birthplace of Sir W. Raleigh. Chagford. Chittlehampton. Chudleigh: *Ugbrooke Park*. Chulmleigh: *Collerton Barton*. Clovelly. Cockington. Colyton. Cornwood. Croyde. Cullompton. Dartmouth. Dittisham. Exeter. Filleigh: *Castlehill*. Fremington. Hatherleigh: cobb cottages. Hennock. Highweek: *Bradley*. Hope. Lamerton: *Collacombe*. Lifton: *Wortham*. Littlehempston: *The Old Manor*. Lustleigh. Lynmouth. Marystowe: *Sydenham House*. Modbury. South Molton. Moreton Hampstead. Newton Abbot. Newton Ferrers. Noss Mayo. Bishop's Nympton: *Whitechapple*. Otterton. Pilton. Plymouth. Plympton St. Mary and St. Maurice. Ringmore. Salcombe. Sherford: *Keynedon*.

Sidbury: *Sand*. Sidford: *Manstone*. Staverton: *Pridhamsleigh*. Stonehouse. Tavistock. South Tawton. Throwleigh: *Church House*. Thurlestone. Tiverton. Topsham. Torrington. Totnes. Walkhampton: *Church House*. Wear Giffard. Winsford.

CASTLES. Barnstaple: mound. Berry Pomeroy. Dartmouth and Kingswear: time of Henry VIII. Exeter: *Rougemont Castle* gateway, and part of city wall. Gidleigh. Hemyock: entrance gate. Lydford. Marldon: *Compton Castle*, xv-century castellated mansion. Okehampton. Plymouth: *Citadel Gate* (1670). Plympton St. Maurice. Totnes: Castle, remains of town walls and gateways.

## DORSET

EARLY MEN. Rough Stone Monuments. Abbotsbury: *The Grey Mare and her Colts* (T). Compton Abbas: *Two Gates* (T). Kingston Russell (o and s). West Knighton (o). Portisham: *The Helstone* (T) and also (o) on Portisham Hill. Winterborne Abbas: *The Nine Stones* (o) and *The Broad Stone* (s). Winterborne Steepleton: near Loscombe Plantation (T). **Habitations.** Preston: *Chalbury Camp*. Stourpaine: *Hod Hill Camp*. Lynchets. Kingston. Shillingstone: on Shillingstone Hill. **Hill-Forts and Camps.** Abbotsbury. Bere Regis: *Woodbury*. Bloxworth: *Woolbarrow*. Cattistock Castle. Dorchester: *Maiden Castle* (N, 1A, 1B, 1C, and Roman). East Lulworth: *Flower's Barrow Camp*. West Lulworth: *Bindon Hill Camp*. Lytchett Minster: *Bulbury Camp*. Milborne Stileham: *Weatherby Castle*. Child Okeford: *Hambledon* (1A and 1C). Okeford Fitzpaine: *Banbury Hill Camp*. West Parley: *Dudsbury* (1A). Pentridge: *Penbury Knoll Camp*. Pilsdon Pen Camp. Powerstock: *Eggardon* (1A) and *Powerstock Castle*. Preston: *Chalbury Camp*. Shapwick: *Badbury Rings*. *Spettisbury Rings* (1B and 1C). Stoke Wake: *Rawlsbury*. Stourpaine: *Hod Hill Camp* (1B, 1C, and Roman). Tarrant Keynston: *Buzbury Rings*. Wootton Fitzpaine: *Coney's Castle*. **Museums.** Dorchester. Farnham: *Pitt-Rivers Museum*.

ROMAN. At Dorchester are remains of walls, the Amphitheatre (*Maumbury Rings*), and perhaps a Roman work in *Poundbury Barrows*. Three, of rather conical form, near *Badbury Rings Camp*. Inside Iron Age fort on Hod Hill. **Villa.** Preston, where also is Temple, on Jordan's Hill. **Museums.** As Early Men.

**SAXON. Earthworks.** Wareham: walls of *burh*. Woodyates: *Bokerly Dyke*. **Strip Lynchets.** Abbotsbury: St. Catherine's Hill. Worth Maltravers: Winspit Bottom.

**CHURCHES. Norman.** Studland, Worth Maltravers (parish church and *St. Aldhelm's Chapel*). **Perpendicular.** Beaminster, *St. Peter* Shaftesbury, Wyke Regis. **Furniture.** Affpuddle, Bere Regis, Bradford Abbas, Cerne Abbas, Cranborne, *St. Peter* Dorchester, Hazelbury Bryan, Iwerne Minster (A), Litton Cheney, Loders (A), Lyme Regis, Maiden Newton (A), Netherbury, Portesham, Puddletown, Studland, Sturminster Marshall (A), Tarrant Hinton (A), Trent, Upwey (A), *Lady St. Mary* Wareham, Winterborne Whitechurch (A), Yetminster.

**MONASTERIES.** Abbotsbury: barn, dovecot, and part of gatehouse. Cerne Abbas: gatehouse, guest-house, barn, wine-house. *Ford Abbey*: a private residence. *Milton Abbey*. Liscombe: barn. *Shaftesbury Abbey* (frag). Sherborne: the Abbey Church and parts of the School. Tarrant Crawford: remains of *Tarrant Abbey* (frag), and tithe barn. *Wimborne Minster*. Wool: *Bindon Abbey* (foundations only).

**HOUSES.** *Athelhampton Hall*. Beaminster: *Parnham*. Bere Regis. Blandford (xviii brick). *Bloxworth House*. Bradford Abbas: *Wyke Farm*. Bridport (xviii brick). Broadwey. Cattistock. Charminster. *Chetile House*. Chideock. Chilcombe: *Manor House*. Church Knowle: *Barneston*. Corfe Castle. Cranborne. Dorchester. Edmondsham: *Manor House*. *Frampton Court*. Gillingham. *Hanford House*. *Holwell House*. *Hooke Court*. Horton: *Manor House*. Kimmeridge. Kingston-in-Purbeck. *Kingston Russell Farm*. *Leweston House*. East and West Lulworth. Lyme Regis. Lytchett Minster. Mapperton: *Manor House*. Marnhull: *Nash Court*. Melbury Osmond. Melbury Sampford: *Melbury House*. *Melcombe Bingham House*. Milton Abbas (xviii). Morden: *Charborough House*. *Moreton House*. Nettlecombe: *Mappercombe*. Osmington. Pamphill: *Kingston Lacy*. Pilsdon: *Manor House*. Pokeswell: *Old Manor House*. Poole. Preston. Sandford Orcas: *Manor House*. Shaftesbury. Shapwick. Sherborne. West Stafford: *Stafford House*. Stalbridge. Steeple: *Creech Grange*. Studland. Sturminster Newton. Sutton Poyntz. Swanage. Tarrant Gunville: *Eastbury Park*. *Tyneham House*. Upwey. Weymouth.

Wimborne. Wimborne St. Giles: *St. Giles's House*. Woodsford. Wool: *Tess's House*.

**CASTLES.** *Corfe Castle*. Portland: *Bow and Arrow Castle* (ruinous), and also the castle built by Henry VIII. Sherborne. Sturminster Newton (frag). Weymouth: *Sandesfoot Castle* (Henry VIII—frag).

## DURHAM

**EARLY MEN.** **Habitation.** Stanhope: *Heathery Burn Cave*. **Hill-Forts and Camps.** Bedburn: *The Castles*. Durham: *Maiden Castle*. Harperley: *Castle Wood Camp*. **Museums.** Sunderland. *Ushaw College*.

**ROMAN.** **Road.** There is a good stretch to see in a wood 1 m. E. of Waterhouses Station. **Forts.** Remains are visible at Binchester, Ebchester, Lanchester, Piercebridge, and South Shields. **Museums.** South Shields: *Public Library*. Sunderland.

**SAXON.** **Churches.** Aycliffe, Billingham, Escombe, Hart. Jarrow, Monkwearmouth, Norton, Seaham, Sockburn, Staindrop. **Crosses.** As above except Seaham, and also St. Andrew Auckland, Chester-le-Street, Coniscliffe, Darlington, Low Dinsdale, Durham *Cathedral Library*, Egglescliffe, Elwick, Gainford, Haughton-le-Skerne, Hurworth, Great Stainton.

**CHURCHES.** **Early English.** Darlington, Hartlepool, Ryton. **Furniture.** St. Andrew Auckland, Aycliffe, Boldon, Brancepeth, Chester-le-Street, *St. Oswald* Durham, Easington, Egglescliffe, Gainford, Hamsterley, Hart, Haughton-le-Skerne, Heighington, Houghton-le-Spring (A), Lanchester, Pitlington, Redmarshall, Sedgfield, Staindrop, Great Stainton, Stanhope.

**MONASTERIES.** *Finchale Priory*. Jarrow: old Parish Church and some cloister walling.

**HOUSES.** *Bishop Auckland Castle*. West Auckland. Barnard Castle. Brancepeth. *Low Butterby*. *Castle Eden Hall*. Low Dinsdale: *Manor House*. Durham. Egglescliffe. Elwick. Frosterley: *Rogerley Hall*. *Gainford Hall*. *Hardwick Hall*: 1½ m. E. of Sedgfield Station. *Harperley Old Hall*. Haughton-le-Skerne. *Headlam Hall*. *Hebburn Hall*. Hett. *Hollinside*: 2½ m. SW. of Swalwell. *Holmside Hall*. *Horden Hall*. *Houghall*: 1½ m. S. of Durham. Houghton-le-Spring. Hunstanworth. *Hunwick Hall*. Hurworth-

on-Tees. *Lambton Castle*: 2 m. NE. of Chester-le-Street. *Langley Hall*: 1½ m. NW. of Witton Gilbert. *Middridge Grange*. Muggleswick. Neasham. Long Newton. Norton. Redmarshall. Sedgfield. *Sherburn Hospital Gatehouse*. Shotley Bridge. Staindrop. Stanhope. *Walworth Castle*: 5 m. NW. of Darlington. Whitburn. Whorlton. Winston. Witton-le-Wear.

CASTLES. *Barnard Castle*. Bishop Middleham (frag). Bishop-ton: *Castle Hill* ( ? Prehistoric, converted to M and B). *Bradley Hall*: remains of fortified manor house. Brancepeth. *Dalden Tower*: small remains (TH). Durham. Hartlepool: *Town Wall* and *Sandwell Gate*. Hunstanworth (TH—frag). Hylton. *Ludworth Tower* (TH—frag). *Lumley Castle*: ¾ m. E. of Chester-le-Street. *Ravensworth Castle*: 2 m. NW. of Lamesley. Staindrop: *Raby Castle*. Witton-le-Wear.

## ESSEX

EARLY MEN. **Hill-Forts and Camps**. Danbury. Epping Upland: *Ambresbury Banks* (IA). Great Hallingbury: *Wallbury*. Littlebury: *Ringhill Camp*. *Loughton Camp* (IA). **Earthworks**. Colchester: *Lexden Straight Road Earthwork*, to protect pre-Roman Colchester from the south and west. **Uncertain**. East Thurrock: *Dene Holes*—ancient sinkings of which the date and exact purpose are not known. **Museums**. Colchester Castle, Saffron Walden.

ROMAN. **Barrows**. Ashdon: *The Barilow Hills*, barrows of romanized Britons. West Mersea. **Fort**. Bradwell-on-Sea: rampart with traces of wall. **Town Walls**. Great Chesterford: one edge of walled area traceable (frag). Colchester: Walls and *Balkerne Gate* and vault under castle. **Habitation**. East Tilbury: Romano-British hut circles (frag). **Museums**. Colchester Castle, Saffron Walden.

SAXON. **Earthwork**. Witham: walls of *burh*. **Churches**. Little Bardfield. Bradwell-on-Sea. *Holy Trinity* Colchester. ? Corringham. ? Fobbing. Greensted: timber nave. Inworth. Strethall. Sturmer. Cross. Barking.

CHURCHES. Norman. Hadleigh. Rainham. **Decorated**. Elmstead. Great Sampford. **Perpendicular**. Great Bromley, Chignal Smealy, Great Coggeshall, Dedham, Saffron Walden, Thaxted, Woodham Walter. **Furniture**. Aveley, Great Baddow, Little Baddow, Great Bardfield, Barking, Belchamp St. Pauls,

Belchamp Walter, South Benfleet (A), Great Bentley (A), Birdbrook (A), Blackmore, Boreham, Bradwell-juxta-Coggeshall, Great Braxted, Little Braxted (A), Brightlingsea, Broomfield (A), Steeple Bumpstead, Great Burstead, Buttsbury, Great Canfield (A), Great Clacton (A), Clavering, *St. Martin* and *St. Peter* Colchester, Copford, Danbury, Doddington (A), Great Dunmow, High Easter (A), Easthorpe (A), Little Easton, Eastwood (A), Fairsted, Feering, Felstead, Finchingfield, Fingringhoe, Fryerning (A), Gestingthorpe, Halstead, East Ham (A), West Hanningfield, Hatfield Peverel, Castle Hedingham, Heybridge (A), Little Horkesley, East Horndon (A), Ingatestone, Inworth, Kelvedon, Laindon (A), Lambourne, Magdalen Laver (A), Lawford, Layer Marney, Great and Little Leighs, *All Saints* Maldon, Great Maplestead (A), Margaretting, Mountnessing (A), Navestock, Newport, Norton Mandeville, North Ockendon, Chipping Ongar, High Ongar, Orsett, Pentlow (A), Prittlewell (A), Rainham, Rayleigh, Rettendon, Rickling, Ridgwell, Rivenhall, Margaret Roding (A), Runwell (A), St. Osyth (A), Little Sampford, Sandon, Shalford, Shenfield, Stambourne, Stanford Rivers, Stanstead Mountfitchet, Stebbing, Stifford, Stock, Stondon Massey, Sturmer (A), Little Tey (A), Theydon Mount, Tilty, Tollesbury (A), Wakering (A), Great Waltham, North Weald, Wendens Ambo, Wethersfield (A), Wimbish, Witham, Woodham Ferrers, Writtle, Great Yeldham (A).

MONASTERIES. Barking: gateway and scanty but interesting remains. Little Coggeshall: remains in private house, and gatehouse chapel. Colchester: *St. John's Abbey* gateway and *St. Botolph's Priory* church. Earls Colne: 4 altar tombs in modern house, *The Priory*. Cressing: 2 barns, once belonging to the Hospitallers. Little Dunmow: existing parish church. Hatfield Broad Oak: existing parish church. Latton: Priory remains now used as a barn. Little Leighs: plan traceable at *The Priory*. Maldon: *Beeleigh Abbey* (now a private residence). Mountnessing: ruins of Priory church (frag). *Prittlewell Priory*. St. Osyth: *The Priory* includes considerable remains. Steeple: in a barn (frag). Tilty (frag). Waltham Abbey: existing church, gateway and entrance to cloisters. Woodham Ferrers (frag).

HOUSES. Aldham. Arkesden: *Wood Hall*. Ashdon. *Audley End and Abbey Farm*: near Saffron Walden. Aveley: *Belhus*. Great Bad-dow. Little Baddow: *Hall*, *Great Graces*, and *Old Riffhams*. Great

Bardfield. Barking: *Eastbury House*. Beaumont-with-Moze: *New Hall*. Belchamp Walter. *Berechurch Hall*. Billericay. Birdbrook. Blackmore. Bocking. Boreham: *New Hall* and *Boreham House*. *Bradfield Hall*. Braintree. Brentwood. Brightlingsea: *Jacobes Hall*. Broomfield. Broxton. Steeple Bumpstead: *Moyns Park*. Canvey Island: 2 octagonal Dutch cottages. Chelmsford. Great Chesterford. Little Chesterford: *Manor Farm*. Chigwell. Chingford: *Queen Elizabeth's Hunting Lodge*. Chrishall. Clavering. Great Coggeshall. Colchester. Earls Colne. Debden. Dedham. Great Dunmow. High Easter. Great Easton. Little Easton: *Easton Lodge*. Elmdon. Farnham: *Walker's Manor House*. Faulkbourne. Feering. Felstead. Finchingfield. Fingringhoe. Fyfield. *Gosfield Hall*. Great Hallingbury: *Hallingbury Place*. Little Hallingbury. Halstead. East Ham: *Boleyn Castle*. West Hanningfield: *The Meeting House* (wall paintings). Harlow. Harwich. Hatfield Broad Oak. Hatfield Peverel. Havering-atte-Bower: *Pyrgo Park*. Castle and Sible Hedingham. Hempstead. Henham. Great Horkesley. Hornchurch. Ingatestone. Kelvedon. Latton: *Mark Hall*. *Laver Marney Towers*. *Little Leighs Priory*. Littlebury. Maldon. Manningtree. Manuden. Great Maplestead: *Dynes Hall*. Markshall: *Marks Hall*. Matching: *Hall*, with barn and dovecot. Messing. Newport. Black Notley. *White Notley Hall*. South Ockendon. Orsett. *Panfield Old Hall*. Pebmarsh. Prittlewell: *Porters*. *Quendon Hall*. Rayne. Rettendon: barn. *Rickling Hall*. Ridgwell. Rivenhall. *Rochford Hall*. High Roding. White Roding: *Colville Hall*. Roxwell: *Skreens*. Roydon. Runwell: *Fleming's Farm* and *Gifford's Farm*. Saffron Walden. Great and Little Sampford. *Sandon Place*. Shalford. Stanstead Mountfitchet. Stanway. Stapleford Abbots: *Albysn*. Stebbing. Stifford: *Ford Place*. Stistead. Terling. Great Tey. Thaxted. Theydon Mount: *Hill Hall*. Tollesbury. *Tolleshunt D'Arcy Hall*. Tolleshunt Major: *Beckingham Hall*. Toppesfield. *Little Totham Hall*. Ugley. Upminster. Waltham Abbey. Great and Little Waltham. *Little Warley Hall*. South Weald: *Weald Hall*. Wendens Ambo. Wendon Lofts: *Lofts Hall*. Wethersfield. Widdington: *Hall* and *Prior's Hall* and barn. Wimbish. Witham. Wivenhoe. *Woodham Mortimer Hall*. Woodham Walter. Wormingford. Writtle. Great Yeldham.

CASTLES. Mount Bures (M). Great Canfield (M and B). Chris-hall (M). Clavering: earthworks only. Colchester. Great Easton



(M and B). Hadleigh. Castle Hedingham. Chipping Ongar (M and B). Pleshey (M and B). Rayleigh (M and B). Rickling: in the *Hai* grounds (M and B). Saffron Walden. Stanstead Mountfitchett stonework (frag) and good earthworks. Stebbing (M). West Tilbury: rebuilt in xvii.

## GLOUCESTERSHIRE

**EARLY MEN. Rough Stone Monuments.** Avening: *The Tingle Stone* (s). Charlton Abbots: *Belas Knap Long Barrow* (τ). Minchinhampton: *The Long Stone* (s). Lower Swell: *The Hoar Stone* (s). Uley: *Hetty Pegler's Tump* (τ). **Habitation.** Wotton-under-Edge: *Tyley Bottom ancient village*. **Hill-Forts and Camps.** Ampney St. Peter: *Ranbury Ring*. Bourton-on-the-Water: *Salmons-bury* (IB). Cheltenham: *Cleeve Hill Camp*. Coberley: *Crickley Hill Camp*. Cromhall: *Bloody Acre Camp*. Dowdeswell. Dyrham. Haresfield. Henbury: *King's Weston Hill Camp*. Horton. Kemer-ton: *Bredon Hill Camp*. Leckhampton (IA and IB). Lydney: *Lydney Park Camp* (IB and post-Roman). Mangotsfield: *Bury Hill Camp*. Minchinhampton: *Amberley Camp*. North Nibley: *Brackenbury Camp*. Oxenton: *The Knolls Camp*. Painswick. Quinton: *Meon Hill Camp* (IB). Tidenham: *Lancut Promontory Fort*. Twynning: *Towbury Hill Camp*. Uley *Bury Camp*. Windrush. **Museums.** Bristol, *Cheltenham College*, Cirencester, Gloucester.

**ROMAN. Road.** A Roman kerbed and paved road through the Forest of Dean can be traced from Highfield, near Lydney, to Micheldean. It is best preserved at *Blackpool Bridge* near Blakeney, but is also quite plain at Soudley. **Villas.** Chedworth, Great Witcombe. **Temple.** With other remains of buildings, at Lydney. **Amphitheatre.** Cirencester. **Museum.** Cirencester.

**SAXON. Earthwork.** *Offa's Dyke* is to be seen at English Bicknor, St. Briavels, Newland, Tidenham and Woolaston. **Churches.** Bibury, Coln Rogers, Daglingworth, Deerhurst (church and also *Odda's Chapel*), Miserden, Somerford Keynes. **Crosses.** Bibury, Elmstone, Newent. **Dials.** Daglingworth and Saintbury.

**CHURCHES. Norman.** In this county there are many fine Norman doors. **Decorated.** *St. Mark's Chapel* Bristol. **Perpendicular.** *St. Mary Redcliffe* Bristol, *St. Stephen* Bristol, Chipping Campden, Fairford, Northleach, Winchcomb. **Furniture.** Iron Acton, Ampney Crucis, Beckford (A), Berkeley, Bibury (A),

Bishop's Cleeve, Bledington, *St. Mary Redcliffe* and the *Temple Church* Bristol, Buckland, North Cerney, Chedworth, Churchdown (A), Cirencester, Coln Rogers, Cowley, Duntisbourne Rous, Ebrington, Elkstone, Elmstone, Evenlode, Fairford, *St. Mary-de-Crypt* and *St. Nicholas* Gloucester, Guiting Power (A), Hailes, Hawkesbury, Icomb, Kempsey, Maisiey Hampton, Micheldean, Miserden, Northleach, Notgrove, Oddington, Pucklechurch, Quenington (A), Rendcombe, Wyck Rissington (A), Sapperton, Southrop, Standish, Stoke Orchard, Tredington, Upleadon (A), Little Washbourne, Windrush (A), Winterbourne.

MONASTERIES. Ashleworth: barn. *St. James* Bristol: existing parish church. Cirencester: gateway only. Daglingworth: dovecot and some arches (frag). Deerhurst: existing church. Flaxley: one block of monastic buildings. Frocester: barn. Gloucester: near *St. Mary-de-Crypt*, remains of houses of *Grey* and *Black Friars*; also on road to Hempstead, barn and gateway of *Llanthony Priory*. Hailes: parts of cloisters. Kingswood: gatehouse. Quenington: gatehouse of Preceptory of Hospitallers. Stanley St. Leonard: parish church, and remains in farm buildings. Tewkesbury: Abbey Church, gatehouse and guest-house. Westbury-on-Trym: collegiate church and gatehouse tower.

HOUSES. Iron Acton: *Acton Court*. *Adlestrop House*. Admington. Alston. Ampney Down: *Manor House*. Ashleworth. Cold Ashton. Awre: *Poulton Court*. *Badminton*. *Barnsley Park*. Little Barrington. Barton. Beckford. Berkeley. Bibury. Bisley-with-Lypiatt: *Over Court*. Bourton-on-the-Hill. Bourton-on-the-Water. *Brockworth Court*. Buckland: *Rectory*. Calcot. South Cerney. Chalford. Charlton Abbots. Childs Wickham. Chipping Campden. Cirencester. Clifford Chambers: *Rectory*. Coaley. Coleford: *Town Hall* and *The Speech House*. Coln St. Aldwyn. Compton Abdale. Deerhurst: *Whitefield Court*. Didbrook. Dixon: *Manor House*. Dowdeswell: *Manor House*. Duntisbourne Rous. Dursley. *Dyrham Park*. East-Leach-Ebrington. Fairford. Frampton-on-Severn. Gloucester. Guiting Temple. Hinton-on-the-Green: *Manor House*. *Horton Court*. Icomb. Kempsford. Kington. Lechlade. Longborough. Marshfield: *The Rocks*. Broad and Long Marston. Matson: *Manor House*. Mickleton. Moreton-in-the-Marsh. Newent: *Market House*. Newland. Newnham. North Nibley. Notgrove: *Manor House*. Olveston:

*Old Court House.* Owlpen: *Manor House.* Painswick. Postlip. Prestbury. *Preston Court* (near Ledbury). Preston-on-Stour. *Prinknash Park.* Quenington. Quinton. Great and Wyck Rissington. Sevenhampton. *Siston Court.* Upper and Lower Slaughterton. Chipping Sodbury. Little Sodbury: *Manor House.* Southam Delabere. Stanton. *Stanway Hall.* Staunton. *Stonehouse Court.* Stow-on-the-Wold. Stroud. Upper Swell. Tetbury. Tewkesbury. *Thornbury Castle.* Todenham. Welford. Weston-on-Avon. *Whittington Court.* *Wick Court.* Winchcomb. Windrush. *Yate Court.*

**CASTLES.** Berkeley. Beverston. Bristol: fragmentary remains, and also *St. John's Gate* of the city. Hailes: earthworks only. Miserden: remains (frag). St. Briavels: entrance towers and kitchen. Sudeley: ancient portions of modernized house.

## HAMPSHIRE AND ISLE OF WIGHT

All places in the Isle of Wight are marked (I.O.W.).

**EARLY MEN. Rough Stone Monuments.** Mottistone: *The Longstone* (s—I.O.W.). **Hill-Forts and Camps.** Old Alresford: *Oliver's Battery* (IA). Basingstoke: *Winklebury Camp.* Bullington: *Tidbury Ring.* Burghclere: *Beacon Hill Camp,* also *Ladle Hill Camp* which is an unfinished fort of the Early Iron Age. Chilworth: *The Ring.* Christchurch: *St. Catherine's Hill Camp,* also *Hengistbury Head Camp* (IA, IB, and IC). Upper Clatford: *Bury Hill Camp.* Crondall: *Caesar's Camp.* Lymington: *Buckland Rings.* East Meon: *Butser Hill Camp* (IA). Meon Stoke: *Old Winchester Hill Camp.* *Quarley Hill Camp.* Stockbridge: *Woolbury Ring.* Nether Wallop: *Danebury Hill Camp.* *Whitsbury Camp.* Winchester: *St. Catherine's Hill Camp* (IA). **Museums.** Newport (I.O.W.), Ryde (I.O.W.), Southampton, Winchester.

**ROMAN. Roads.** Buckholt: E. of Buckholt Farm. Martin: on Martin Down. **Forts.** Carisbrooke: in *Carisbrooke Castle.* *Portchester Castle.* **Camp.** Ashley. **Walls.** Silchester. **Villa.** Bradling (I.O.W.).

**SAXON. Churches.** Boarhunt, Breamore, Corhampton, Hambleton, Headbourne Worthy, Hinton Ampner, Little Somborne, Tichborne. **Crosses.** Breamore, Headbourne Worthy, Romsey Abbey (Roods); Whitchurch (Headstone); South Hayling (Font). **Dials.** Corhampton, Warnford, *St. Michael* Winchester.

**CHURCHES.** **Norman.** Ashley, Easton, Nateley Scures, *St. Cross Hospital* Winchester. **Early English.** Hound. **Furniture.** Alton, Ashmansworth (A), Basing, Bentworth, Binsted, St. Mary Bourne, Brading (A—I.O.W.), Bramley, Burghclere (A), Carisbrooke (I.O.W.), Chilbolton, Crondall (A), Dummer, Ellingham, Farnborough, Fordingbridge, Godshill (I.O.W.), Greywell, Hambledon, Hartley Wespall, South Hayling (A), Heckfield, Hurstbourne Tarrant, Kingsclere, Mattingley (A), East Meon, Minstead, Nursling, Odiham, *Garrison Church* Portsmouth, Rockbourne (A), Rotherwick, Monk Sherborne, Sherborne St. John, Silchester, Sopley, Stoke Charity, Tadley, Thruxton, Tichborne, Timsbury, Titchfield, Warblington, Warnford, East Wellow, *St. John Baptist* and *St. Cross Hospital* Winchester, Winchfield.

**MONASTERIES.** Beaulieu. Carisbrooke: existing church (I.O.W.). *Christchurch Priory.* Godsfield: chapel of Hospitallers. Mottisfont: considerable remains, incorporated in present house. Up Nateley: *Andwell Priory.* Netley. Pamber: *Monk Sherborne Priory*, now parish church. Portchester: existing church, with traces of conventual buildings on S. side. *Quarr Abbey:*  $\frac{1}{2}$  m. W. of Binstead Church (I.O.W.). *Romsey Abbey.* Selborne (frag). Southwick: remains of Priory, chiefly undercroft of refectory. Titchfield: gatehouse and other remains.

**HOUSES.** Amport. Arreton (I.O.W.). *Ashe House.* *Avington House.* *Basing House*, gatehouse. Basingstoke. Beaulieu. Bentworth: *Manor Farm.* Bighton: *Manor House.* Bishopstoke. Boarhunt. Boldre. Botley. Bramley. Buriton: *Manor House* and *Rectory.* Calbourne (I.O.W.). Preston Candover: *Moundsmere Farm.* *Chale* (I.O.W.). Chalton. *Chawton House.* Cheriton. Chilbolton. Christchurch: *Castle Hall* or *The Norman House*, and *Heron Court.* Upper Clatford. Corhampton. Crawley. Crondall. *Deane House.* *Dogmersfield Park.* Dummer. Easton. Ellingham: *Moyle's Court.* Eversley: *Bramshill House.* Fareham (XVIII brick). Freefolk. Gatcombe: *Gatcombe House* and *Sheat House.* Godshill (I.O.W.). Greywell. Hambledon. Haseley (I.O.W.). Havant: *Old House at Home.* *Heckfield place.* Hinton Admiral. Hinton Ampner. Holybourne. Horringford (I.O.W.). Houghton. Hurstbourne Priors: *Hurstbourne House.* Ibthorpe. Itchen Stoke. Kilmeston: *Manor House.* Kingsclere. Kingston: *Manor House* (I.O.W.). *Laverstoke House.* Leckford. Liphook. Longparish. Lyminster.

## PLACES OF INTEREST

Lyndhurst. East and West Meon. *Merston House* (I.O.W.). Micheldever. Minstead. Mottistone: *Manor House* (I.O.W.). Netley. Newchurch (I.O.W.). Newnham. Newport (I.O.W.). Newtown: *Town Hall* (I.O.W.). Niton: *White Lion Inn* (I.O.W.). Northington: *The Grange*. Nunwell: 1 m. NW. of Brading (I.O.W.). Nursling: *Grove Place*. Church Oakley: *Malshanger*. Odiham. Otterbourne. Overton. Owslebury. Petersfield (xviii brick). Rockbourne: *Old Manor House*, with hall, chapel, and barn. Romsey: *King John's Hunting Box*. Selborne. Shalfleet: *Manor House* (I.O.W.). Shanklin: the old village (I.O.W.). Sherborne St. John: *The Vyne*. Shorwell: *North Court* and *West Court* (I.O.W.). Southampton. Steventon: *Old Manor House*. Stockbridge. Bishop's Sutton. Swarraton: *Rectory*. Swaythling: *South Stoneham House*. Titchbourne. Titchfield. Twyford. Nether Wallop. Bishop's Waltham. Warnford: *King John's House*. Wherwell. Whitchurch. Wickham. Wield. Winchester. Winchfield. Wonston. Yaverland: *Manor House* (I.O.W.).

CASTLES. Carisbrooke (I.O.W.). Christchurch: mound and part of keep. Fawley: *Calshot Castle*, time of Henry VIII. Hursley: *Merdon Castle* (frag). Lymington: *Hurst Castle*, time of Henry VIII. Odiham. Portchester: within the Roman fort. Portsmouth: *King James's Gate* and *Landport Gate*. Southampton: walls and gateways. Warblington. Winchester: *Winchester Castle*—great hall, remains of round tower and sally port; also *Wolvesey Castle*; also *King's Gate* and *West Gate*. Yarmouth: time of Henry VIII (I.O.W.).

## HEREFORDSHIRE

EARLY MEN. **Rough Stone Monument.** Dorstone: Arthur's Stone (1). **Hill-Forts and Camps.** Aconbury Camp. Adforton: *Brandon Camp*. Aymestrey: *Pyon Wood Camp* and *Croft Ambrey Camp*. Brilley: *Pen Twyn Camp*. Buckton and Coxall: *Coxall Knoll Camp*. Colwall: *British Camp* (1B) on Herefordshire Beacon. Credenhill Camp. Dinedor: *Oyster Hill Camp*. Donnington: *Haffield Camp*. Dormington: *St. Ethelbert's Camp*. Eastnor: *Midsummer Hill Camp* (1B). Eaton Bishop: *Eaton Camp*. Fownhope: *Cherry Hill Camp*. Foy: *Little Doward Camp*. Grendon Bishop: *Westington Camp*. Humber: *Risbury*. Kimbolton: *Back Camp*. Ledbury: *Wall Hills Camp*. Leominster: *Ivington Camp*.

Much Marcle: *Oldbury Camp*. Ross: *Chase Wood Camp*. Staunton-on-Arrow: *Wapley Hill Camp*. Sutton St. Michael: *Sutton Walls*. Thornbury: *Wall Hills Camp*. Vowchurch: earthwork in Lower Park Wood. *Walterstone Camp*. Woolhope: *Capler Camp*.

ROMAN. **Towns.** Kenchester: traces of wall, and most of its original outline can be followed. Leintwardine: surviving ramparts on W. side and at NW. angle. **Museum.** Hereford.

SAXON. **Earthwork.** *Offa's Dyke* is to be seen at Byford, Kington, Lyonshall, Mansell Gamage, Titley, and Yazor. **Strip Lynchets.** Aston near Ludlow, Aymestrey, Burghill, Coddington, Dormington, Ledbury, Leintwardine, Lingen, Tarrington, Woolhope. **Castle.** *Richard's Castle* was originally a Mound and Bailey castle thrown up before the Norman Conquest. **Church.** Peterstow. **Cross.** Acton Beauchamp. **Dial.** Castle Frome.

CHURCHES. **Norman.** Castle Frome, Kilpeck, Moccas, Munsley. **Early English.** Pixley. **Decorated.** Pembridge, and in many churches there is much good work in this style. **Furniture.** Almeley, Avenbury (A), Aymestrey, Bacton, Bishopstone, Bosbury, Bredwardine (A), Bridge Sollers (A), Brinsop, Bromyard (A), Burghill, Clehonger, Clodock, Much Dewchurch, Dilwyn, Eardisley, Eaton Bishop, Edwin Ralph, Elton, Eyton, Fownhope (A), Castle Frome, Foy, Garway, Hampton Bishop (A), *St. Peter* and *All Saints* Hereford, Holmer (A), Holm Lacy, Kington, Kinnersley, Ledbury, Leintwardine, Letton, Llandinabo, Longtown, Madley, Much Marcle, Mathon, Michaelchurch, Middleton-on-the-Hill (A), Orleton (A), Pembridge, Peterchurch, Canon Pyon, Ross, Rowstone (A), Upper Sapey (A), Stanford Bishop (A), Stretford, Sutton St. Nicholas, Tarrington, Vowchurch, Wellington (A), Welsh Newton, Weobley, St. Weonards.

MONASTERIES. Abbey Dore: existing church. Adforton: *Grange*, incorporating remains of *Wigmore Abbey*. Craswall: ruinous. Dinmore: chapel of Hospitallers. Goodrich: *Flanesford Priory*, now incorporated in a farm. Hereford: ruins of Dominican Friary and *Preaching Cross*. Leominster: *Priory Church* and some buildings incorporated in the workhouse.

HOUSES. Abbey Dore: *Grange Farm*. Allensmore: *Allensmore Court* and *Cobhall Farm*. Almeley. Ashperton. Aymestrey. *Bishopstone Court*. Blakemere. Bodenham. Bosbury. Brampton

Abbots: *Rudhall House*. Brilley. *Brinsop Court*. Brockhampton by Bromyard: *Lower Brockhampton House*. Bromyard. Burghill. *Byford Court*. Clodock. Colwall. Much Cowarne. Cradley. *Croft Castle*. Much Dewchurch: *The Mynde*. *Dewsall Court*. Dilwyn. Eardisland. Eardisley. Egleton. *Eye Manor*. *Eyton Court*. Fownhope. Bishop's Frome. Garway: dovecote and barn at *Church House Farm*. Goodrich: *Newhouse Farm*. Hampton Bishop. Hentland: *Gillow Manor*. Hereford. Holm Lacy: *Vicarage* and *Holm Lacy House*. Hope-under-Dinmore: *Hampton Court*. Kentchurch: *Kentchurch Court* and *Pontrilas Court*. Kimbolton. Kingsland. *Kingstone Grange*. Kington. *Kinnersley Castle*. *Knill Court*. Ledbury. Leintwardine. Linton near Ross. Llangarren: *Langstone Court* and *Bernithen Court*. Llanveynoe. Longtown. Lucton: *School* (1708). Lugwardine. Luston. Much Marcle. Marden. St. Margarets: *White House*. Mathon. Michaelchurch Escley: *Michaelchurch Court*. Middleton-on-the-Hill: *Middleton Farm*. *Monnington Court*. Mordiford: *Sufton*. Norton Canon. Orleton. Pembridge. Peterchurch: *Snodhill Court Farm* and *Wellbrook Manor*. Putley. Canon Pyon. King's Pyon: *Butthouse* and its gatehouse. Richard's Castle: *Rodd Court*. Ross. Sellack: *Caradoc Court*. *Shobdon Court*. Stoke Prior. Sutton St. Nicholas. Tarrington. Titley. *Tyberton Court*. Upton Bishop: *Upton Court*. Walford: *Wythall* and *Hill Court*. Wellington. Weobley. Weston-under-Penyard. Whitbourne. Whitchurch: *Old Court Farm*. Wigmore. Withington. Woolhope.

CASTLES. *Almeley Castle* (M and B) and *Batch Twt* (M. and B). Ashperton: earthworks only. Aston near Ludlow (M). Aymestrey: in Camp Wood (M). Bacton: *Newcourt Tump* ( ? M and B). Brampton Bryan. Bredwardine. Buckton and Coxall (2 M). *Clifford Castle* and *Old Castleton* and *Newton Tump* (all M and B). Cusop: *Mouse Castle* (M and B) and *Cusop Castle* (B only). St. Devereux: at Didley Court Farm (M and B). *Dorstone Castle* (M and B) and Mynydd Brith (M and B) and at Nant-y-Bar (M and B). Eardisland (M). Eardisley (M and B). Eastnor: *Bronsil Castle*, ruins (frag) and moat. Evesbatch (M and B). Eye: *Ashton Castle* (M). Castle Frome (M and B). Goodrich. Hereford: bailey of castle and portions of city walls. Huntington near Kington: *Huntington Castle* (frag) and *Turret Castle* (M and B). Kilpeck. Kingsland (M and B). Kington: *Castle Twts* (M and B). Leintwardine; at Walford (M). Lingen (M).

Llancillo (M). Llanrothal: *Tregate Castle* (M and B). *Longtown Castle* and *The Mound* (M and B). Lyonshall. Madley: mound near the church (M). Moccas (M and B). Orcop (M and B). Peterchurch: *Snodhill Castle*. *Richard's Castle*. Rawlstone: mound near church (M). Stapleton (frag). Staunton-on-Arrow (M). Turnastone (M). Vowchurch: near Chanstone Mill (2 M). Walterstone (M and B). Welsh Newton: *Pembridge Castle*. Weobley: earthworks. St. Weonards: *Treago Castle*. Wigmore. Wilton.

## HERTFORDSHIRE

**EARLY MEN. Habitations.** New Barnet: *Abbey Folk Park*, has reconstructed dwellings of Old and New Stone Ages, Bronze and Iron Ages. **Hill-Forts and Camps.** Ashwell: *Arbury Banks* (IA and IC). Hexton: *Ravensborough Castle*. Letchworth: *Willbury Hill Camp* (IA and IC). Redbourn: *The Aubreys*. **Other Earthworks.** Wheathampstead: *The Devil's Dyke* and *The Slad*, walls of a Belgic fortified city. St. Albans: *Beech Bottom Dyke* to the NE. and *The Devil's Dyke* to the NW. are travelling earthworks of much the same date as those at Wheathampstead. (All are IC.)

**ROMAN.** Wall and Ditch of *Verulamium*, Theatre of *Verulamium*, Museum with remains of *Verulamium*, St. Albans.

**SAXON. Earthwork.** *Grim's Ditch* at Berkhamstead, Northchurch, Tring and Wigginton. **Church.** *St. Michael's* at St. Albans.

**CHURCHES. Decorated.** North Mimms. **Furniture.** Aldenham, Baldock, High Barnet, *St. Leonard* Bengo (A), Bennington, Great Berkhamstead, Braughing, Broxbourne, Flamstead, Little Gaddesden, Much Hadham, Little Hadham, Hatfield, Hemel Hempstead (A), Hitchin, Hunsdon, Knebworth, King's Langley, North Mimms, Oxhey (the *Chapel*), Puttenham, Redbourn, Sandon, Sawbridgeworth, King's Walden, Ware, Watford, Watton, Wormley.

**MONASTERIES.** Hitchin: *The Priory* incorporates remains of a house of White Friars. St. Albans: Gatehouse. Ware: some remains of Franciscan house at *Ware Priory*. Little Wymondley (frag).

**HOUSES.** Albury. Aldbury. *Ashridge House* (Gothic revival, 1808-14). Ashwell. Aspenden. *Aston Bury*. Ayot St. Lawrence.



Baldock. Barkway. Barley. New Barnet: *Abbey Folk Park*, for its reconstructed dwellings and shops. Bayford: *Bayfordbury*. Bennington. Great Berkhamstead. Braughing. *Brent Pelham Hall*. Brickendon: *Bridgeman House*. Broxbourne. Buntingford. Ches-hunt. Codicote. Collier's End. London Colney: *Tittenhanger Park*. *Cottered Lordship*. Cromer Hyde. Datchworth. *Great Gaddesden Place*. Little Gaddesden. Gilston: *The Feathers Inn*. Much and Little Hadham. Hare Street, near Buntingford. Harpenden. *Hatfield House*. Hemel Hempstead. Hertford. High Cross: *Youngsbury*. *Hinxworth Place*. Hitchin. Hoddesdon. Great Hornead. Hunsdon. Hunton Bridge. Kimpton. *Knebworth Park*. *Letchworth Hall*. *North Mimms Park*. Offley. *Oxhey Hall*. *Panshanger*: 2½ m. W. of Hertford—Gothic revival. *Furneaux Pelham Hall*. Pirton. Red Hill: *Julians*. Rickmansworth. Ridge. Royston. Rushden. St. Albans. *Sandon Bury*. Sandridge. Sarratt Green. Sawbridgeworth. Shenley: *Salisbury Hall*. Standon. Stanstead Abbots. Stevenage. Bishop's Stortford. Tewin: *Queen Hoo Hall*. Therfield. *Thorley Hall*. Walkern. Wallington. Ware. Watford. Watton. Welwyn. Wheathampstead. Widford: *Widfordbury*. Great Wymondley.

CASTLES. Anstey (M and B). Great Berkhamstead. Hertford: several large fragments of wall, and postern gate. Pirton (M and B). Bishop's Stortford: *Waytemore Castle*, foundations of a Shell Keep, and M and B. Therfield (M and B). Great Wymondley (M and B).

## HUNTINGDONSHIRE

ROMAN. **Habitation**. Colne: Romano-British village site 1½ m. NNE. of church. **Camp**. Chesterton: *The Castles*. **Milestone**. In garden of *Orton Hall*, Orton Longueville.

SAXON. **Church**. Great Paxton. **Cross**. Fletton.

CHURCHES. **Early English**. Alconbury, Old Hurst. **Perpendicular**. Conington, Great Gransden, St. Neots, Wistow. **Furniture**. Covington (A), Eynesbury, Little Gidding (A), Glatton, Godmanchester, Kimbolton, Leighton Bromswold, Orton Longueville, Ramsey (A), Tilbrook, Warboys (A), Yaxley.

MONASTERIES. St. Ives: Remains in garden of a private house (frag). Ramsey: Abbey gateway, and remains of refectory in private house. Sawtry: site of Cistercian Abbey (mounds only).

HOUSES. Abbotsley. Alconbury. Broughton. Buckden. Great Catworth. Conington. Easton. Ellington. Elton. Eynesbury. Fen Stanton. Godmanchester. Great Gransden. Hamerton. Hemingford Abbots. Hemingford Grey. Hilton. *Hinchingsbrooke*:  $\frac{3}{4}$  m. W. of Huntingdon. Holywell-cum-Needlingworth. Houghton. Huntingdon. St. Ives. Kimbolton. Leighton Bromswold: *Vicarage* (formerly castle gatehouse). St. Neots. Offord Cluny. Orton Longueville: *Orton Hall*. Orton Waterville. Ramsey. Abbot's Ripton. Sawtry. Southoe. Spaldwick. Great Staughton. Stibington. Stilton. *Tetworth Hall*. *Toseland Hall*. Waresley. Wistow. Yaxley. Yelling.

CASTLES. Earith: *The Bulwarks* (probably a xvii fort, built during the Civil War). Hartford-at-Sapley (M and B). Huntingdon (M and B). Stanground: *Horsey Hill Fort* (probably a xvii fort, built during the Civil War). Wood Walton: *Castle Hill* (M and B).

## KENT

EARLY MEN. **Rough Stone Monuments.** Addington: *Long Barrow* (T) and *The Chestnuts* (T). Aylesford: *Kit's Coty House* (T), *Little Kit's Coty House* or *The Countless Stones* (T), and *White Horse Stone* (S). Trottiscliffe: *The Coldrum Stones* (T). **Habitations.** Hayes: hut circles (N) on Hayes Common. Ightham: Old Stone Age rock shelters on Oldbury Hill; hut sites in Rose Wood. **Hill-Forts and Camps.** Harbledown: *Bigbury Wood Camp* (IC). Keston: *Holwood Hill Camp*. Nettlestead: *Milbays Wood Camp*. Ospringe: *Judd's Hill Camp*. **Museums.** Birchington: *Powell-Cotton Museum*. Canterbury. Deal: *Town Hall*. Folkestone. Maidstone. Rochester: *Eastgate House*.

ROMAN. **Forts.** Lympne: *Studfall Castle*. Reculver. Richborough: very important. **Villas.** Darenth, Folkestone. **Light-house.** Dover. **Museums.** Canterbury. Dartford: *Public Library*. Dover. Folkestone. Maidstone. Ospringe: *Maison Dieu*. Richborough. Rochester: *Eastgate House*.

SAXON. **Earthwork.** North Cray: *The Fæstendic*. **Churches.** Brenchley, Canterbury—4 churches: *SS. Peter and Paul*, *St. Mary*, *St. Pancras*, *St. Martin*—Cheriton, *St. Mary in Castro* Dover, ? Lower Halstow, Leeds, Lyminge, Northfleet, Paddlesworth (near Folkestone), Reculver, Swanscombe, Whitfield.

**CHURCHES.** **Norman.** Barfreton, St. Margaret-at-Cliffe, Patricxbourne. **Early English.** Eastry, Monkton. **Decorated.** Chartham. **Perpendicular.** Ashford, Eastchurch, Maidstone. **Furniture.** Adisham, Aldington, Appledore, Ash-next-Sandwich, Ashford, Bapchild, Biddenden, Birchington, Bonnington (A), Borden, Boughton Aluph, Boughton-under-Bleau, Boughton Malherbe, Brabourne, Bredgar, Broadstairs, Brook, Brookland, Great Chart, Chartham, Cheriton, Chiddingstone, Chislet, Cliffe-at-Hoo, Cobham, Cooling, St. Mary Cray, Darenth, Dartford, Ditton, Eastchurch, Edenbridge, Eynesford, Faversham, Grain, Graveney, Upper Hardres, Harrietsham, Hawkhurst (A), Herne, Hever, Hollingbourne, Horsmonden, Hythe, Ivychurch, Kemsing, Leeds, Lenham, Lullingstone, Lydd, Lyminge, Lympne (A), Maidstone, Margate, Mersham (A), Minster-in-Thamet, Nettlestead, Newington (near Hythe, A), Newington-on-the-Street, St. Nicholas-at-Wade, Northbourne (A), Northfleet, Offham, Orpington, Pluckley, Postling, Preston (near Faversham), Rainham, Ramsgate, Rodmersham, New Romney, Saltwood, *St. Clement* Sandwich, Selling, Shoreham, Shorne, Southfleet, Staplehurst, Stone-by-Dartford (A), Swanscombe, Tonge, Upchurch, Westwell, West Wickham, Wingham, Woodchurch, Wrotham.

**MONASTERIES.** Aylesford: remains (frag) in house called *The Friary*. Canterbury: *St. Augustine's Abbey*; the refectory of the Dominican Friary, now a Unitarian chapel; also a portion of the Franciscan Friary in St. Peter Street. Dartford: gateway. Dover: buildings of a Benedictine Priory now incorporated in *Dover College*. Erith: *Lesnes Abbey*. Faversham (frag). Leeds: gatehouse. Maidstone: tithe barn. West Malling. Minster-in-Sheppey; existing church and gatehouse. Poulton: *St. Radegund's Abbey*. Rochester: three gates, *The Priors*, *The Deanery* and *College Yard*.

**HOUSES.** *Acrise Place*. Alkham. Ash (near Wrotham). Ashford. Aylesford. Benenden. Boughton Malherbe: *Manor House*. Boughton Monchelsea: *Boughton Place*. Brabourne. *Brasted Place*. Bredgar: *Chantry House*. Brencley: *Moatlands*. Broadstairs: *Milton Place*. Bromley. Canterbury. Charing. Chatham. *Chevening Place*. Chiddingstone. Chilham. Cobham. Cowden. Cranbrook. Dartford. Denton (near Canterbury). Dover. Edenbridge. Elham. *Eltham Palace*. Eynesford. Faversham. Folkestone. Fordwich: *Town Hall*. Goudhurst. Gravesend. Groombridge. Hack-

ington: *St. Stephen's Almshouses*. Harrietsham. Hollingbourne. Horsmonden. Hythe. Ickham: *Rectory*. *Ightham Mote*. Kemsing. Leigh. Loose: *Wool House*. Maidstone. Meopham. Norton Court. Orlestone: *Manor House*. *Orpington Priory*. Ospringe: *Maison Dieu*. Otford. *Otterden Place*. *Penshurst Place*. Riverhead: *Brabourne Hall*. Rochester. Saltwood. Sandwich. Sevenoaks. Shoreham. Smarden. Southfleet. Stanford. Sundridge. Tenterden. Teynham. Throwley: *Belmont*. Tonbridge. Tunbridge Wells. Ulcombe. Westerham. Whitstable. Wickhambreux. Wingham, Wye.

CASTLES. Allington. Broadstairs: remains of *York Gate*, part of defence of the old port. Broomfield: *Leeds Castle*. Canterbury: *The Dane John* (M), the *West Gate*, and remains of the City Walls. Chilham. Cooling. Deal: built by Henry VIII—not open to the public. Dover. Eynesford. Hever. Leybourne: gateway and small other remains. Lympne. West Malling: *St. Leonard's Tower*. Rochester: Castle and town walls, the latter on Roman foundation in parts. Saltwood. Sandwich: *The Fishergate* and *Bridgegate*. Stanford. Sutton Valence. Thornham. Tonbridge. Tonge (M and B). Walmer: built by Henry VIII.

## LANCASHIRE

EARLY MEN. **Rough Stone Monuments**. Bleasdale: 2 timber circles, of which there is very little to be seen above ground. Liverpool: *The Calderstones* (remains of T, with markings, some ancient). Lowick: at Knapperthaw,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  m. to the S., 5 stones of a circle. Turton: on Cheetham Close (O). Worsthorne: on Hambleton Pasture (O) and on Slipper Hill (O). **Habitations**. Urswick: hut circles. Warton: *Dog Holes Cave*. Woodland: *Heathwaite British Settlement*. **Hill-Forts and Camps**. Blackburn: earthwork on Mellor Moor. Colne: *Castercliff Camp*. Mossley: *Buckton Castle*. Urswick: camp near Holme Bank Plantation. Warton: on Warton Crag. Whalley: *Planes Wood Camp*. **Museums**. Bury, Liverpool, Manchester University, Preston, Rochdale, Warrington.

ROMAN. Road. On *Blackstone Edge*, 2 m. ENE. of Littleborough. **Camps and Forts**. Lancaster: *Wery Wall*, at the back of houses on W. side of Bridge Lane. Manchester: fragment of wall in a timber-yard near Knot Mill station, under arch of railway

bridge, numbered 95, close to the canal. Ribchester: portions of walls, and some ruins in the rectory garden. **Milestone.** At Caton Hall, and also a headless figure of Ceres. **Museums.** Manchester: Queen's Park Museum. Ribchester. Also some of the museums mentioned under *Early Men*.

**SAXON. Church.** Heysham: *St. Patrick's Chapel*. **Crosses.** Aughton, Bolton, Gressingham Vicarage, Halton, Heysham, Hornby, Lancaster, Manchester Cathedral, Melling, Urswick, Whalley, Winwick.

**CHURCHES. Furniture.** Ashton-under-Lyne. Blackburn. Bolton. Cartmel Fell. Childwall. Colton. Denton. Ecclestone. Farnworth (near Widnes). Garstang. Goosnargh. Halsall. Harwood. Heysham. Huyton. Lancaster. Middleton. Ormskirk. Prescot. Ribchester. Rivington: parish church and Unitarian chapel. Rochdale. Samlesbury. Sefton. Standish. Stidd. Tunstall. Urswick. Warton. Whalley.

**MONASTERIES.** Burscough: remains of Augustinian Priory. Cartmel: existing church and gate-house. *Cockersand Abbey*:  $2\frac{1}{2}$  m. SW. of Glasson Dock station. Furness Abbey. Upholland: existing church, of which nave was chancel of monastic church, and ruins (frag) of monastic buildings to the south. Whalley.

**HOUSES.** Ashton-with-Stodday: *Ashton Hall, Ashurst Hall*. Billington: *Hacking Hall*. Bolton: *Hall i' th' Wood* and *Smithells Hall*. *Borwick Hall*. *Bradshaw Hall*. Burnley: *Towneley Hall, Barcroft Hall, Royle Hall, Extwistle Hall, Cark Hall, Castleton Hall, Childwall Hall*. Chipping: *Brabin Schoolhouse, Hesketh End*. Chorley: *Astley Hall, Claughton Hall, Crosby Hall*. Croston: *Rectory, Denton Old Hall*. West Derby: *Croxteth Hall*. Ecclestone: *Heskin Hall*. Farnworth: 2 m. SE. of Bolton, *Great Lever Hall*. Goosnargh: *Hospital*. Great Harwood: *Martholme, Hale Hall, Hawkshead Hall*. Heysham. *Hoghton Tower*. Holme: *The Holme*. Hoole: *Carr House*. Ince-Blundell Hall. Kersal Cell. Kirkby Ireleth Hall. Lancaster. *Lathom House*. Leyland. Liverpool: *Blue Coat Hospital, Town Hall*, and good modern public buildings. *Lydiat Hall, Lytham Hall*. Manchester: old *Sun Inn (Poets' Corner)*, *Chetham's Hospital, Agecroft Hall (Pendlebury), Clayton Hall (Droylsden), Hough End (Withington), Barlow Hall (Chorlton), Slade Hall (Rusholme)*. Middleton. Morecambe: *Poulton Hall*,

and other houses in the old village, NE. of railway station. Newton-le-Willows: *Newton Hall*. Ormskirk. Padiham: *Gawthorpe Hall*. Parbold: *Priorswood Hall*, and a number of XVII and XVIII yeomen's houses in the neighbourhood. Poulton-le-Fylde. Preston: good modern public buildings. *Rampside Hall*. Ribchester: *New Hall* and *Dutton Hall*. *Rivington Hall*. Rochdale: *Belfield Hall* and *Clegg Hall*. Royton: *Old Hall*. Rufford: *Hall* and *Old Hall*. *Rusland Hall*. Salford: *Ordsall Hall* and *Bull's Head Inn*. *Samlesbury Old Hall*. Scarisbrick: *Hurleston Hall*. *Speke Hall*. *Standish Hall*. Stidd: almshouses. *Stonyhurst College* and almshouses. Sunderland: Wharves and warehouses. *Turton Tower*. Ulverston: *Swarthmoor Hall*. Upholland: *Derby House*. Walton-le-Dale: old *Unicorn Inn*. Walton-on-the-Hill: schoolhouse. Wardleys: remains of shipyard and old houses. Warrington. Warton: ruins of XIV rectory house. Winwick. Worsley: *Worsley Hall*, *Worsley Old Hall*, and *Wardley Hall*. Worsthorne: *Hurstwood*. *Wycoller Hall* (ruinous).

CASTLES. Aldingham (M and B) and *Gleaston Castle*. Arkholme: *Chapel Hill* (M). Clitheroe. Garstang: *Greenhalgh Castle*, part of a tower. Halton: *Castle Hill* (M and B). Hornby: castle, of which the only ancient portion is the great tower built in XVI, and *Castle Stede* (M and B). Lancaster: Lungess Tower, Adrian's Tower, Well Tower, and gateway. Melling: mound in vicarage garden (? M). Newton-le-Willows: *Castle Hill* (M). Penwortham: *Castle Hill* (M and B). *Piel Castle*. *Radcliffe Tower*: remains of fortified manor house. Whittington (M and B).

## LEICESTERSHIRE

EARLY MEN. **Hill-Fort.** Burrough-on-the-Hill: *Burrough Hill Camp*. **Museum.** Leicester.

ROMAN. **Camp.** Ratby. **Town.** Leicester: *The Jewry Wall* and excavations close by. The latter, undertaken in 1936, are most interesting. At the moment of writing it is still undecided whether they will remain open or be built over. There is also a Roman pavement in Blackfriars Street. **Museum.** Leicester.

SAXON. **Churches.** Birstall: window. Breedon-on-the-Hill: remarkable sculptured frieze. *St. Nicholas* Leicester. **Crosses.** Nether Broughton (in N. wall), Harston.

**CHURCHES. Decorated.** Appleby Magna, Barwell, Belton, Kegworth, Stoke Golding, Sutton Cheyney. **Furniture.** Ab-Kettleby, Asfordby, Ashby-de-la-Zouch, Ashby Folville, Aylestone, Barkby (A), Barkestone, Belgrave, Bottesford, Great Bowden, Buckminster, Coleorton, Croxton Kyrial, Great Dalby (A), Castle Donington, Dunton Bassett, Eastwell, Eaton, Edmondthorpe, Gaddesby, Goadby Marwood, Hallaton, Market Harborough (A), Hoby, Horninghold, Hungerton, South Kilworth, Kirby Belers, Thorpe Langton, *Chapel of Trinity Hospital, St. Martin, St. Mary, St. Margaret* and *All Saints* Leicester, Lockington, Loddington, Lubenham, Lutterworth, Melton Mowbray, Misterton, Neville Holt, Noseley, Oadby (A), Cold Overton, Peatling Magna, Peckleton, Quorndon, Saxelby, Sheepshed, Stapleford, Staunton Harold, Stockerston, Theddingworth, Thornton, Thurcaston, Thurlaston, Waltham-on-the-Wolds, Long Whatton, *All Saints* Wigston Magna, Withcote.

**MONASTERIES.** Breedon-on-the-Hill: *Breedon Priory*, existing church. Gracedieu: extensive but fragmentary ruins of nunnery. *Launde Abbey*:  $1\frac{1}{2}$  m. NE. of Loddington. Leicester: walls of precinct only. Owston: existing church. *Ulverscroft Priory*: 2 m. NNE. of Markfield.

**HOUSES.** Allextton: *Manor House*. Anstey. Appleby Magna: *Manor House*. Appleby Parva: *Grammar School*. Ashby-de-la-Zouch. Ashby Folville: *Manor House*. Aylestone Hall. Barrow-on-Soar: almshouses. Belgrave. *Husbands Bosworth Hall*. *Market Bosworth Hall*. *Braunston Hall*: 2 m. from Leicester. Brighthurst. Brookesby: *Manor House*. *Buckminster Hall*. *Carlton Curlieu Hall*. Cossington. Old Croft. *Little Dalby Hall*. *Desford Hall*. Donnington-le-Heath: XIII house. Fenny Drayton: birthplace of George Fox. Dunton Bassett. Great Easton. Elmsthorpe: good modern cottages. Frowlesworth: almshouses. *Garendon Park*:  $1\frac{1}{2}$  m. E. of Sheepshed. Glen Magna. *Goadby Marwood Hall*. *Gopsall Hall* (2 m. W. of Shackerstone). Groby: *Manor House*. Hallaton. Market Harborough. Hungerton: *Quenby Hall*. *Old Ingarsby Hall*. Kirkby Mallory. *Knighton Hall*. Church Langton. Thorpe Langton. *West Langton Hall*. Leicester. Loughborough: *Rectory*. *Lowesby Hall*. Lutterworth. Melton Mowbray. *Narborough Hall*. *Neville Holt*:  $1\frac{1}{2}$  m. E. of Medbourne. *Newbold Verdon Hall*. Newton Harcourt: *Manor House*. Newtown Linford:

*Bradgate Park.* East Norton. *Noseley Hall.* Oadby. *Osbaston Hall.* Osgarthorpe. *Cold Overton Hall.* Pickwell: *Manor House.* *Prestwold Hall.* Queniborough. *Ragdale Hall.* Ravenstone: almshouses. *Rolleston Hall.* Rothley. *Scraptoft Hall.* *Shangton Hall.* *Shenton Hall.* *Skeffington Hall.* *Stapleford Hall.* *Staunton Harold.* Sutton Cheyney: almshouses. Syston. Thurmaston. *Wistow Hall.* *Withcote Hall.* Wymeswold. Wymondham.

**CASTLES.** Ashby-de-la-Zouch. Earl Shilton (M). Groby (M). Hallaton (M). Kirby Muxloe: a castellated mansion of xv rather than a castle. Leicester: rather scattered but very interesting portions of the castle. Withcote: *Sauvey Castle*, earthworks only.

## LINCOLNSHIRE

**EARLY MEN. Hill-Forts and Camps.** Barrow Haven: *The Castles.* *Honington Camp.* Ingoldsby: *Round Hills.* Irby-on-Humber: *The Moats.* Swineshead: *The Manwarings.* **Museum.** Lincoln.

**ROMAN. Earthworks.** The Car Dyke and Foss Dyke may both be of Roman origin. **Camps and Settlements.** Ancaster: fosse clearly traceable; some finds from churchyard are at vicarage. Caistor: portions of wall to be seen. Croxton: *Yarborough Camp* (? Roman). North Kyme: traces of camp (? Roman). **Fort.** Horn-castle: in parts the walls are still 12 ft. high. **Town.** Lincoln: *Newport Arch*, and sections of the Roman town walls. **Villa.** Norton Disney: W. of Hill Holt Farm. **Museum.** Lincoln.

**SAXON. Churches.** Barton-on-Humber, Bracebridge, Branston, Broughton, Cabourn, Clee, Coleby, Corringham, Cranwell, Glentworth, Great Hale, Harmston, Harpwell, Heapham, Holton-le-Clay, Hough-on-the-Hill, *St. Benedict*, *St. Mary-le-Wigford* and *St. Peter-at-Gowts* Lincoln, Marton, Nettleton, Ropsley, Rothwell, Scartho, Skillington, Springthorpe, Stow, Stragglethorpe, Swallow, Thurlby, Wilsford, Winterton, Worlaby. **Crosses.** Bassingham, Castle Bytham, Cammeringham, *Coleby Hall*, Colsterworth, Cranwell, Creeton, Crowle, Market Deeping, Digby, Dowsby, Edenham, Ewerby, Harmston, Howell, South Kyme, Manby, Miningsby, Rowston, *Stoke Rochford Park*, Tallington, North Witham.

**CHURCHES. Decorated.** Covenham St. Mary, Ewerby, Heckington, Holbeach. **Perpendicular.** Addlethorpe, Belton (in Isle



of Axeholme), Bag Enderby, Louth, Marsh Chapel, Saxilby, *St. John Baptist* Stamford, Tattershall, Yarborough. **Furniture.** Addlethorpe, Alford, Ashby-cum-Fenby, Belton (near Grantham), Benington, Bicker, Bigby, *St. Botolph* Boston, Bottesford (A) Branston, Bratoft, Broughton, Burgh, Cadney-cum-Howsham, Caistor, Carlton-le-Moorland, Carlton Scroop, Caythorpe, Claypole, Clee, South Cockerington, Coleby, Coningsby, Cotes-by-Stow, Croft, Market and West Deeping, Denton, Digby, Edenham, Ewerby, Fishtoft, Folkingham, Friskney, Fulbeck, Gedney, Grantham (A), Grimoldby, Hacconby, Hainton, Great Hale, Haltham-upon-Bain, Halton Holgate, Harlaxton, Haydor, Heckington, Helpringham, Honington, Horbling (A), Horncastle, Howell, Ingoldmells, Irnham, Kelby, Kingerby, East Kirkby, Kirton-in-Lindsey, Langtoft, Legbourne, Leverton, Lusby, Lynwode, Mars-ton, Moulton (A), Navenby, Northope, Norton Disney, Osbournby, Pickworth, Pinchbeck, North Rauceby, Rippingale, Roughton, Saltfleetby All Saints, Scotter, Scotton, Scrivelsby, Sibsey (A), Silk Willoughby, Skidbrook, Sleaford, Snarford, Old Somerby, North and South Somercotes, *SS. Mary and Nicholas* Spalding (A), Spilsby, *St. Mary* (A) and *All Saints* Stamford, Stoke Rochford, Stow (A), Strubby, Long Sutton, Swaton, Swineshead, Tattershall, Theddlethorpe All Saints, Thornton Curtis, Thorpe St. Peter, Threckingham, Thurlby-by-Newark, Uffington, Utterby, Walcot, Walesby, Welby, Wellingore, Westborough, Weston (A), Whap-lode (A), Wigtoft, Wilsford (A), Winthorpe, Wrangle.

**MONASTERIES.** Appleby: *Thornholme Priory*, slight remains. Bardney: the whole of the foundations of the church have been uncovered, and of much of the domestic buildings. Barlings (frag). Bourne: existing church. Bullington (frag). Crowland. Deeping St. James: existing church. Edenham (frag). Frieston: existing church. Kirkstead: *St. Leonard's Chapel*; and other remains (frag). South Kyme: part of existing church. Lincoln: *Monk's Abbey*, remains of priory of St. Mary Magdalene; in Broadgate, remains of Franciscan Friary; *White Friars House*, Akrills Court. Louth: *Louth Park Abbey*, carefully excavated but only slight remains. Newstead: remains in farm. North Ormsby: slight traces of foundations of Gilbertine priory. West Ravendale: small chapel of Premonstratensian priory. Revesby (frag). Spalding: remains in houses E. of the market-place. Stamford: *St. Leonard's Priory*.

Swineshead (frag). Temple Bruer: tower only. Thornton Curtis: *Thornton Abbey*. Topholme: chief portion of remains is part of the refectory.

HOUSES. Alford. Alkborough: *Walcot Old Hall*. Appleby. Bassingthorpe-cum-Westby: *Manor House*. Belleau: *Manor House*. Belton House: near Grantham. Bigby: *Ketilby House*. Billingborough: *George and Dragon Inn*. Boothby-Pagnell: *Norman Manor House*. Boston. Bourne. *Brocklesby Hall*. Bulby Hall. *Burwell Park*. Caenby: *Manor House*. Cawthorpe. Claxby St. Andrew. *Coleby Hall*. Crowland. Dalderby: a tiny house built with 'crucks'. Market Deeping: *Rectory*. Deeping St. James. West Deeping. Denton: almshouses. *Doddington Hall*. Donington: old school-house. Edenham: *Grimsthorpe Castle*. *Fillingham Castle*. Folkingham. *Frampton Hall*. *Fulbeck Hall*. *Gainsborough Old Hall*. *Glentworth Hall*. Goxhill: *Littleworth*. Grantham. Greatford. Grimoldby. *Hainton Hall*. Halton Holgate. Harlaxton. *Harrington Hall*. Haugh: *Manor House*. Horbling. Horncastle. Hough-on-the-hill. Huttoft. *Irnham Hall*. Kettlethorpe. North Killingholme: *Manor House*. Legbourne. Lincoln: a great variety of old houses. Louth. *Marston Hall*. Normanby-by-Spital: *Manor House*. Northope: *Manor House*. Norton Disney. *Osgodby Hall*. Pilham. Great Ponton: house by the church. *Redbourn Hall*. Rippingale. Saxby All Saints. *Scampton Hall*: gateway. Scotter. Scremby. *Scrivelsby Court: The Lion Gateway*. Sedgebrook. Skendleby. Sleaford. South Somercotes. Spalding. Spilsby. Stamford. Stragglethorpe. Strubby: *Woodthorpe Hall*. Long Sutton. Swineshead. Tealby. *Torksey Castle*. Uffington: *Casewick Hall*. Ulceby. Wainfleet All Saints: *Magdalen College School*. Well. Willingham-by-Stow. Willoughby. *Wilsford Hall*. Winteringham. Witham-on-the-Hill. Woodhall: *Tower i' the Moor*. Worlaby: hospital.

CASTLES. Bolingbroke (frag). Boothby Graffoe: *Somerton Castle*. Bourne (frag). Castle Bytham: earthworks only. Folkingham: earthworks only. South Kyme: *Kyme Tower*, a keep. Lincoln: castle, and *The Stone Bow*. Owston: *Kinnard Castle*, earthworks. Sleaford (frag). Tattershall. *Tothill: Toot Hill* (M and B).

## PLACES OF INTEREST

## LONDON

I have omitted London, feeling that the brief treatment that is possible in this Appendix does not meet the case. Every one is familiar with the Tower and the Abbey and the British Museum; to give an adequate summary would require too much space; and I could think of no satisfactory *via media*.

## MIDDLESEX

**SAXON. Earthwork.** *Grim's Ditch* is to be seen at Pinner, NE. from Oxhey Lane. **Church.** Kingsbury.

**CHURCHES. Furniture.** Bedfont, *St. Nicholas* Chiswick, Cowley, Cranford, Hadley, Harefield, Harlington, Harmondsworth (A), Harrow-on-the-Hill, Hayes, Hendon, Ickenham, Littleton, Northolt, Perivale, Ruislip, Stanwell, Whitchurch.

**MONASTERIES.** Harefield: *Moor Hall Chapel*, formerly in the hands of the Hospitallers. Harmondsworth: tithe barn.

**HOUSES.** Bedfont. Brentford: brick houses in the Butts, and *Boston House*. Brent Street: *Brent Bridge Hotel*. *Bushey House*: near Teddington. Chiswick. Cowley. Cranford. Ealing: *Walpole Park*. Eastcote. Edgware: almshouses. Edmonton: *Lamb Cottage* and *White Lodge*. Enfield: *Forty Hall*. Finchley: *Manor House*. Friern Barnet: almshouses. *Hampton House*. *Hampton Court Palace*. Harefield: almshouses. Harrow-on-the-Hill: *Old School* and the *King's Head Inn*. Hatch End. Headstone Manor: *Manor House*. Hendon: almshouses. Heston: *Osterley House*. Highgate: *Ken Wood House*. Hillingdon. Ickenham: *Swakeleys*. Isleworth: *Syon House*. Kingsbury: the *Plough Inn*. Littleton. Mill Hill: *Littleberries*. South Mimms: *Wrotham Hall*. Neasden. Page Street: *Copt Hall*. Pinner. Ruislip. Southall: *Manor House*. Staines: *Duncroft House*. Stanmore. Stanwell: old school-house. *Sunbury Court*. Tottenham: *Bruce Castle*. Twickenham. Uxbridge. Whitton: *Kneller Hall*.

**CASTLE.** Ruislip (M and B).

## MONMOUTHSHIRE

**EARLY MEN. Rough Stone Monuments.** Duffryn: *Gwern y Cleppa* (T). Llanvair Discoed: *Gray Hill Stone Circle*. Llanvi-

hangel-juxta-Roggiett (s). Newchurch: *The Gaerlwyd* (t). Trelleck: *Harold's Stones* (s). **Hill-Forts and Camps.** St. Arvans: two camps in Pierce Wood. Bassaleg: *Gaer Hill*. Bettws Newydd: *Coed y Bwnydd Camp*. St. Bride's Netherwent: camp in The Larches. Caerleon: *Penrhos Camp*. Caerwent: *Llan Melin Wood Camps*. Christchurch: *Priory Wood Camp* and *St. Julian's Wood Camp*. Graig: camp 250 yds. NE. of Rhiwderyn. Gwehelog: *Llancayo Camp*. Llangstone: *Cat's Ash Camp*. Llanmelin (1B). Llantrissant: camp NW. of Bertholey House. Newchurch: *Gaer Fawr*. Penterry: *Gaer Hill*. Portskewett: *Sudbrook Camp*. Wolves Newton: camp at Cwrt y Gaer.

**ROMAN. Fort.** Caerleon: remains of legionary fortress. **Town.** Caerwent: has fine stone walls and bastions. **Amphitheatre.** Caerleon. **Other Site.** Portskewett. **Memorial Stone.** Tredunnock church. **Museums.** Caerleon, Caerwent.

**CHURCHES. Perpendicular.** Peterstone. **Furniture.** Bettws Newydd, Christchurch, Grosmont, Gwernesney, Kemeys Commander, Llangattock-juxta-Usk, Llangattock Lingoed, Llangovan, Llangwm Uchaf, Llantilio Crossenny, Llantilio Pertholey, Llanvair Cilgeden, Llanvetherine, *St. Woollos* Newport, Redwick, Skenfrith, Trelleck.

**MONASTERIES.** Abergavenny: existing church, and slight remains in house called *The Priory*. Chepstow: existing church, and remains (frag) of the Priory of St. Kynemark in a stable. Upper Cwmyoy: *Llanthony Abbey*. Llantarnam: original gateway, and portions of domestic buildings in stables. Magor: existing church, and fragments of domestic buildings. Monmouth: existing church of *St. Mary*, and *Geoffrey's Window*. *Tintern Abbey*. Usk: existing church, gateway, and a few other remains.

**HOUSES.** Abergavenny. St. Arvans: *Piercefield Park*. Bassaleg: *Tredegar House*. *Plas Bedwellty*. Caerleon. *Goytrey Hall*. Grosmont: *Campstone House*. Kemeys Inferior: *Manor House*. *Llanarth Court*. Llangattock-juxta-Usk: *Llangattock Court*. Llangeview: almshouses. *Llangibby Castle*. *Llangstone Court*. *Llanover Court*. Llantilio Crossenny: *Cil Lluch*. Llantilio Pertholey: *Pen y Clawdd*. Llanvair Discoed: *Court House*. *Llanvihangel Crucorney Court*, and the village inn. *Llanvihangel Tavernbach: Pant*. *Plas Machen*. Mathern: *The Old Palace* and *Moyne's Court*. St. Maughan's:

*Tre Ifor*. St. Mellons: *Llanrumney*. Monmouth. Penallt: *Troy House*. St. Pierre: the gate-house. Tregare: *Llwyn y Gaer*. Wonastow: *Tre Owen*.

**CASTLES.** Abergavenny: castle, and fragments of town walls. Caerleon: *The Castle* (M), and a bridge-tower. Caldicot. Chepstow: castle and town walls. Lower Cwmyoy: *The Moat* (M and B). Grosmont. Kerneys Inferior (M and B). Llangibby (frag). Llangwm (M and B). Llanmartin: *Pencoed Castle*. Llantilio Crossenny: *White Castle*. Llantrissant: *Troggy Castle*. Llanvair Discoed. Monmouth: castle and *Mornow Gate*. Newcastle: *Castell Meirch* (M and B). Newport. Panteg (? M). Penhow. Raglan. Risca: *Twm Barlwm* (M and B). Skenfrith. Trelleck: *Tump Terrett* (M). Usk.

## NORFOLK

**EARLY MEN.** Circle. Arminghall near Norwich: *Woodhenge*. See *Antiquity*, December 1935, p. 465. **Habitations.** Weeting-cum-Bromehill: *Grime's Graves*, Neolithic flint workings. Weybourne: prehistoric pits. **Hill-Forts and Camps.** Hunworth: *Castle Hill*. Warham: a camp, *not* Danish as often stated. **Museum.** Norwich Castle.

**ROMAN.** Camp. West Runton. Fort. Brancaster: slight traces, including one fragment of wall. Town. Caister-by-Norwich: enclosure and ditch. Villa. Gayton Thorpe. **Museum.** Norwich Castle.

**SAXON.** Churches. Dunham Magna. North Elmham: foundations of cathedral. Weybourne. Witton.

**CHURCHES.** Early English. West Walton. Decorated. Elsing. Perpendicular. Cawston. Cromer. King's Lynn: *Red Mount Chapel*. Loddon. St. Peter Mancroft and St. Michael Coslany Norwich. Sall. Shelton. Swaffham. Terrington St. Clement. Walpole St. Peter. Worstead. **Furniture.** Castle Acre, South Acre, Ashill, Attleborough, Aylsham, Barton Turf, Bawburgh, Billingford (about 3 m. E. of Diss), Blakeney, Breccles, Bressingham, Brisley, Brockdish, North and South Burlingham, Burnham Norton, Burnham Thorpe, Caston, Cawston, Cley, Costessey, Cranworth, East Dereham, Dersingham, Earsham, Eaton, North Elmham, Elsing, Emneth, Fakenham, Felbrigg, Feltwell, Fersfield, Filby, Fornsett St. Peter, Fritton, Gillingham

(A), Gooderstone, Gressenhall, Griston, Happisburgh, Hockering, Horsey, Irstead, Kenninghall, Knapton, Loddon, Ludham, *St. Margaret* and *St. Nicholas Chapel* King's Lynn, Martham, Merton, Morston, Necton, Palling, Potter Heigham, Pulham St. Mary, Ranworth, Castle Rising (A), West Rudham, East Ruston, Saham Toney, Salle, Salhouse, Upper Sheringham, Great Snoring, Little Snoring (A), West Somerton, Sparham, Stow Bedon, Long Stratton, Strumpshaw, Swaffham, Tacolnstone, Thompson, Thornham, Threxton, Tilney All Saints, Tittleshall-cum-Godwick, Tivetshall, West Tofts, Tottington, Trimmingham, Trunch, Tunstead, Upton, Walpole St. Peter, North Walsham, Walsoken (A), Wickhampton, Wicklewood, Wiggenhall St. Mary, Wolferton, Yelverton.

MONASTERIES. Castle Acre. West Acre: scanty remains. Aldeby: remains in *Priory Farmhouse*. Bacton: *Bromholm Priory*. Beeston Regis: *Beeston Priory*, W. end of church and foundations of chapter-house. Binham: existing church, gatehouse, and traces of cloister and conventual buildings. *Blackborough Nunnery*:  $1\frac{1}{2}$  m. S. of Middleton. Burnham Norton: gateway of Carmelite Friary. Burnham Thorpe: *Creake Abbey*. Carbrooke: foundations of house of Hospitallers. West Dereham: remains of priory, including barn. Hickling: remains of priory (frag). Horsham St. Faith's: slight remains of priory. Langley. Ludham: *St. Benet's Abbey*, gateway. King's Lynn: *Greyfriars' Tower*. Methwold: tithe barn of *Bromehill Priory*. Norwich: *St. Andrew's Hall*, formerly the nave of a Dominican church, with portions of cloisters and domestic buildings. Pentney: gateway of priory. East Rudham: *Cokesford Priory* (frag). Shouldham: foundations of Gilbertine house, and barn. Thetford: *Thetford Priory*; also remains of priory of Canons of the Holy Sepulchre; also fragmentary remains of three other houses. Walsingham: remains of Augustinian Priory in the grounds of *Walsingham Abbey*; also ruins of a Franciscan house, especially the cloister. Weybourne: remains of priory (frag). Wymondham: existing church and remains at east end. Yarmouth: *Greyfriars' Cloisters*, Middlegate Street.

HOUSES. *Antingham Hall*. Arminghall: *Old Hall*. *Ashwell-thorpe Hall*. Aylsham. *Baconsthorpe Hall*. Bacton. Banham. *Barningham Hall*. East Barsham: *Manor House*. *Barton Bendish Hall*. *Bawburgh Hall*. *Besthorpe Hall*. *Blickling Hall*. *West Bradenham Hall*. *Bramerton Grange*. *Breccles Hall*. Great

Cressingham: *Manor House*. East Dereham. Drayton. *Earlham Hall*. *Elsing Hall*. *Felbrigg Hall*. *Foulsham Hall*. Fritton. Gaywood. *Gillingham Hall*. *Little Hautbois Hall*. Heacham. Heigham: *Dolphin Inn*. *Heydon Hall*. Hillgay: *Wood Hall*. *Hillington Hall*. *Holkham Hall*. Horning. Horstead-cum-Stanninghall: *Heggatt Hall*. Houghton-in-the-Brake: *Hall*, and early XVIII houses. *Hunstanton Hall*. Itteringham: *Mannington Hall*. *Kenninghall Palace*: the barn remains. *Ketteringham Hall*. *Langley Hall*. *Ludham Hall*. King's Lynn. Merton. *Middleton Towers*. Morningthorpe: *Boyland Hall*. *Narborough Hall*. *Necton Hall*. Norwich. *Oxborough Hall*. Paston: *The Great Barn*. Poringland. *Raynham Hall*. Castle Rising: *Bede House*. Rushford: *Rectory*. *Salhouse Hall*. Scole: *White Hart Inn*, Great Snoring: *Vicarage*. *Stiffkey Hall*. *Tacolnstone Hall*. *Thelveton Hall*. Thetford. Thompson: *College Farmhouse*. Thorpe-next-Norwich: *Manor House*. *Thursford Hall*. Upwell. Walsingham. Wells. Wiggenhall: *St. Mary's Hall*. Winfarthing: *Lodge Farm*. *Wolterton Hall*. Wymondham. Yarmouth.

CASTLES. Castle Acre. Old Buckenham. Caister-by-Yarmouth. Denton (M and B). Gresham: foundations only of fortified manor house. King's Lynn: portions of town walls, and *South Gate*. Norwich: castle and *Cow Tower* and *Devil's Tower*. Castle Rising. Thetford (M and B). Weeting-cum-Bromehill: remains of *Weeting Castle*. Yarmouth: town walls and towers.

## NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

EARLY MEN. **Hill-Forts and Camps**. Daventry: *Borough Hill Camp*. *Hunsbury* (1B): 1½ m. SW. of Northampton. Newbottle: *Rainsborough Camp*. **Museum**. Northampton.

ROMAN. **Museums**. Northampton. Peterborough.

SAXON. **Churches**. Barnack, Earl's Barton, Brigstock, Brixworth, Geddington, Nassington, Green's Norton, Pattishall, Peakirk, Stowe-Nine-Churches, Wansford, Wittering. **Crosses**. Luton, Nassington, Paston, Peakirk, and the font at Little Billing.

CHURCHES. **Norman**. *St. Peter* Northampton. **Early English**. Warmington. **Decorated**. Little Addington, Cottesbrooke, Easton Maudit, Kislingbury. **Perpendicular**. Fotheringhay, Stamford Baron, Whiston. **Furniture**. Abington, Great Adding-

ton, Apethorpe, Ashby St. Ledgers, Aston-le-Walls, Bainton, Barby, Barnack, Barton Seagrave (A), Blisworth, Brington, Burton Latimer, Byfield, Castor, Charwelton, Chipping Warden, Cogenhoe, Cransley (A), Culworth, Denford, Great Doddington, Dodford, Easton-on-the-Hill, Easton Neston, Fawsley, Finedon, Flore, Geddington, Glapthorne, Grendon (A), Hannington, Hargrave (A), Harleston, Hemington, Nether Heyford, Higham Ferrers, Holcot, Irchester, Irthlingborough, Kettering (A), Kingscliffe (A), Lowick, Lutton, Marholm, Maxey, Middleton Cheney, Nassington, Newton Bromshold, Great Oakley, Oundle (A), Passenham, Peakirk (A), Polebrook (A), Raunds, Ravensthorpe, Ringstead, Rothwell, Rushden, Slapton, Stanford, Stanwick (A), Steane, Stoke Albany, Stoke Bruern, Sulgrave, King's Sutton (A), Tansor, Twywell (A), Ufford, Wappenham, Warkton, Warkworth, Weedon Lois, Wellingborough, Werrington (A), Whiston, Wilby (A), Woodford (near Byfield).

**MONASTERIES.** Canons Ashby: existing church. Catesby: remains of priory, and other fragments incorporated in the church in the lower village, and archway in cottage in the upper village. Chalcomb.

**HOUSES.** *Abington Abbey.* Adstone: *Manor House.* Aldwinkle. *Althorp Park.* *Apethorpe House.* *Canons Ashby.* *Castle Ashby.* Ashby St. Ledgers: *Manor House* and *Ashby Lodge.* *Aynho Park.* Badby. Bainton. Barnack: *Walcot Hall.* Barnwell. *Barton Seagrave Hall.* Little Billing: *Manor House.* Blisworth. Brackley. Brampton Ash: *Manor House.* Church Brampton. Brigstock. Brington. *Brockhall Hall.* *Burghley House:* SE. of Stamford. *Burton Latimer Hall,* and school-house. Byfield. Castor: *Milton House.* Charwelton: *Bittlesden.* Cogenhoe. Colley Weston. Corby. Cotterstock. *Cottesbrooke Hall.* Cottingham. Courteenhall. Cranford St. Andrew: *Cranford Hall.* Cranford St. John: *Manor House.* *Cransley Hall.* Culworth. *Dallington Hall.* *Deene Hall.* Desborough. *Dingley Hall.* Great Doddington. Duddington. Etton: gabled house by the church, and *Woodcroft Hall,* 2 m. S. of the village. Easton-on-the-Hill: the old rectory. *Easton Neston.* Ecton. *Edgcote House.* *Evenley Hall.* Eydon. *Fawsley Hall* and *Dower House.* *Finedon Hall.* Flore. Fotheringhay. Gayton: *Manor House.* Geddington. *Glendon Hall.* Glington: *Manor House.* Greatworth: remains of manor house. Gretton: *Kirby Hall.* Guilsborough: *Grammar School.* *East Haddon Hall.* Hardwick: *Manor*



*House.* Harleston. Harpole. Harringworth. Great Harrowden: *Harradan Hall.* Higham Ferrers. Hinton: *Manor House.* Holdenby *House:* remains in present house, and two arches. *Horton Hall.* Islip. Kettering. Kingscliffe. Kingsthorpe. Kislingbury: *Rectory.* *Lamport Hall.* *Laxton Hall.* *Lichborough Hall.* *Lilford Hall.* Loddington: *Manor House.* Lowick: *Drayton House.* Marston: *Manor House.* Milton Mansor. Moreton Pinkney. Nassington. Newton-in-the-Willows: dovecot. Northampton. Northborough. *Norton Hall.* *Great Oakley Hall.* Little Oakley: *Manor House.* Oundle. Passenham: *Manor House* and two barns. Paston. Peterborough: *Town Hall.* Pilton. Potterspurty: *Wakefield Lodge.* Roade: *Hyde Farm* and dovecot. Rockingham. Rothwell. *Rushton Hall* and the *Triangular Lodge.* Scaldwell. *Southwick Hall* and *Pirho Barn.* Stamford Baron. *Stanford Hall.* Stanion. Stoke Albany. Stoke Bruern: *Stoke Park.* Stowe-Nine-Churches, *Sulby Hall.* Sulgrave. *Sywell Hall.* Thorpe Achurch: *Rectory* and a barn. Thorpe Malsor. Thrapston. Towcester. Twywell: *Manor House.* Ufford. Upton: *Manor House.* Walgrave: *Manor House.* Wappenham: *Manor House.* *Watford Court.* Weedon Lois: *Manor House* and *Weston Hall.* Weekley. Weldon. Wellingborough. *Welton Place.* Werrington. Weston Favell. Wicken. Wilbarston. Winwick: *Manor House.* Yardley Hastings: *Manor House.*

CASTLES. Alderton (M and ? B). Earls Barton: *Berry Mount* (M). Barnwell. Benefield: earthworks only. Farthingstone: *Castle Dykes.* Little Houghton: *Clifford Hill* (? M). Rockingham. Tichmarsh: earthworks only. Wappenham: *Spowell Castle.*

## NORTHUMBERLAND

EARLY MEN. **Rough Stone Monuments.** Branxton: *The King's Stone* (s). Cartington Castle: 1 m. E. of, (o). Chatton: incised rocks at Fowberry Park and on Fowberry Moor. Doddington: on Doddington Moor (s); also incised rocks—N. of Doddington Dean Wood, on Hare Crag, and on Dod Law. Duddo: The Duddo Stones (s, or part of o). Ford: 2 incised rocks on Broom Ridge, Hunter's Moor; cup-and-ring marked rock near *Rowting Lynn Camp.* Holystone: on Dues Hill, *The Five Kings* (part of o). Humbleton: *The Battle Stone* (s). Ilderton: near Threestoneburn (o). Rothbury: incised rocks on Chirnells Moor. Simonburn: *The Goatstones* (o). **Habitations.** Ilderton: settlement on *Dod Hill.*

Ingram: settlements on *Brough Law* and *Haystack Hill*, and at *Ewe Hill Camp* and *Greaves Ash Camp*. Wooler: settlement near *The Kettles*. **Hill-Forts and Camps.** Akeld: *Harehope Camps* (2). Alnmouth: *Norse Camp*. Beanley: *The Ringses*. Old Bewick: *Bewick Hill Camp* and *Bewick Moor Camp*, the former with cup-and-ring marked rocks. South Charlton: *Buck Law (or Whinny Hill) Camp*. Doddington: *The Ringses*, and two camps on *Dod Law*. Ford: *Rowting Lynn Camp*. Holystone: *Harehaugh Camp*. Humbleton: *Cup and Saucer Camp* and *Humbleton Hill Camp*. Ilderton: *Dod Hill (North) Camp*. Ingram: *Cochrane Pike Camp*, *Greaves Ash Camp*, *Ewe Hill Camp*, *Ingram Hill Camp*, and *Wether Hill Camp*. Warden: *Warden Hill Camp*. Wooler: *The Kettles*. *Yeavinger Bell Camp*.

ROMAN. **Hadrian's Wall.** See Mr. Collingwood's pamphlet, mentioned in bibliography to Chapter III, for the Wall itself and the forts along it. **Other Camps and Forts.** Alston: *Whitley Camp*. Makendon: Fort and Camps at Chew Green, 10 m. SW. of The Cheviot. High Rochester: *Bremenium*. West Woodburn: *Habitancum*. **Town.** Corbridge: *Corstopitum*, where there are considerable remains. **Miscellaneous.** Chollerton Church: Altar. Halton Tower, 3 m. N. of Corbridge: Altar. Haydon Bridge Church: Altar, converted into font. Hexham Priory: Altar and stones in wall of nave. St. John Lee Church: Altar. **Museums.** Alnwick Castle: *The Postern Tower*, but only by special leave. Chesters. Corbridge: small museum on site of *Corstopitum*. Newcastle-on-Tyne: *Black Gate Museum*.

SAXON. **Churches.** Beadnell: chapel at Ebb's Nook (foundations ? Saxon). Birtley (? Saxon). Bolam: tower. *St. Andrew* Bywell: tower. Corbridge: tower. Heddon-on-the-Wall. Hexham Priory: crypt and frith-stool. Ovingham: tower. Ponteland: window built into wall of S. aisle (? Saxon). Warden: tower. Whittingham: part of tower. **Crosses.** Falstone. Hexham Priory. Lindisfarne. Newcastle-on-Tyne: *Black Gate Museum*. Nunykirk. Rothbury. Simonburn. Warkworth. Woodhorn. **Inscribed Stone.** Birtley.

CHURCHES. **Early English.** Haltwhistle. **Furniture.** Alnham (A), Alnwick, Bamburgh, Berwick-upon-Tweed, Bothal, Chillingham, Chollerton, Corbridge (A), Felton (A), Heddon-on-the-Wall (A),

Kirk Newton (A), Mitford (A), Morpeth, *St. John* Newcastle-on-Tyne, Norham (A), Ponteland (A), Simonburn, Stamfordham, Warkworth *Parish Church*, Warkworth *Hermitage* (access by rowing boat), Woodhorn.

MONASTERIES. Alnwick: *Alnwick Abbey* and *Hulne Friary*. Blanchland: existing church, and various remains in the village. Brinkburn: existing church. *Chibburn Preceptory*: 2 m. NE. of Widdrington, once occupied by Hospitallers. *Hexham Priory*. *Holy Island (Lindisfarne) Priory*. Morpeth: *Newminster Abbey*. Newcastle-on-Tyne: remains of Dominican Friary. *Tynemouth Priory*.

HOUSES. Alnmouth. Alnwick. Bamburgh. Beltingham: *Willimoteswick*. Blanchland. Bothal. Branxton. Cambo: village post-office. Etal. Harbottle. Hexham. Morpeth. Newbiggin: *Seaton Delaval Hall*. Newcastle-on-Tyne. Norham. Ponteland: *Blackbird Inn*. Ulgham. Warkworth. *Nether Witton Hall*:  $4\frac{1}{4}$  m. N. of Meldon.

CASTLES. Alnham: *Vicarage* (TH). Alnwick: castle and *Bond Gate*, and *Heiferlaw Tower* (TH). *Aydon Castle*:  $3\frac{1}{2}$  m. NE. of Corbridge, a fortified manor house. Bamburgh. Barrasford: *Haughton Castle* (TH). *Belsay Castle*: 4 m. S. of Angerton (TH). Berwick-upon-Tweed: castle, Edwardian town walls and Elizabethan town walls. Bywell: gate-house. *Cartington Castle*: 4 m. NW. of Rothbury. Chillingham. Chollerton: *Money Hill* (M and B). *Cocklaw Tower*: 1 m. SE. of Chollerton (TH). *Cockle Park Tower*:  $4\frac{1}{2}$  m. N. of Morpeth (TH). Corbridge: S. of churchyard (TH). Dilston. Doddington (TH). *Dunstanburgh Castle*: N. of Craster. *Edlingham Castle* (TH). Elsdon (M and B), and N. of church (TH). Embleton: *Vicarage* (TH). Etal. Featherstone. Ford: largely modern, but retains two old towers. *Halton Tower*: 3 m. N. of Corbridge (TH). Harbottle. Hexham: *Moot Hall* (TH) and ancient *Prison* (TH). Long Horsley (TH). *Langley Castle* (TH). Mitford. Morpeth. Newcastle-on-Tyne: castle, remains of town walls, and *Black Gate*. Norham. *Prudhoe Castle*:  $\frac{1}{2}$  m. E. of Ovingham. Rothbury: *Whitton* (TH). *Simonburn Castle* (TH). *Staward Pele*. *Thirlwall Castle*:  $1\frac{1}{4}$  m. N. of Greenhead (frag). Tynemouth: gate-house, with outer and inner barbicans, incorporated in the priory. Wark-on-Tyne (M), and also *Chipchase Castle* (TH),  $1\frac{1}{4}$  m. to the SE. Warkworth. Whittingham (TH).

## NOTTINGHAMSHIRE

**EARLY MEN. Habitation.** *Church Hole Cave*, Cresswell Crags, west of Worksop. For Cresswell Crags also see Derbyshire. **Hill-Forts and Camps.** Arnold: *Cockpit Hill*. Farnsfield: *Combs Farm Camp*. Mansfield Woodhouse: *Winny Hill Camp*. Oxtun: *Oldox*. East Retford: *Castle Hill*. Woodborough: in Fox Wood. **Museum.** Nottingham.

**ROMAN. Fort.** East Bridgford: remains of *Margidunum* on the *Fosse Way*.

**SAXON. Churches.** East Bridgford, Carlton-in-Lindrick. **Crosses.** Hickling, Rolleston, Shelford, Shelton, Stapleford.

**CHURCHES. Perpendicular.** *St. Mary* Nottingham. **Furniture.** Arnold, Attenborough, Averham, Balderton, Barnby-in-the-Willows, Bingham (A), Blidworth, West Bridgford, Bunny, Car Colston (A), Coddington, South Collingham (A), Cropwell Bishop, Eakring, Finningley, Granby, Halam, Hawton, Hickling, Holme, Keyworth (A), Kneesall, Lambley, Laneham, Langar, Laxton, East Leake, East Markham, North Muskham, South Muskham (A), Newark, Normanton-on-Soar, Papplewick, Radcliffe-on-Soar, Rampton, South Scarle, Screveton, Shelford, Shelton (A), Sibthorpe, Sneinton, Strelley, Sutton-cum-Lound, Sutton-on-Trent, Teversall, Tuxford, Tythby, Walkeringham, Warsop, Whatton, North Wheatley, Willoughby-on-the-Wolds, Winkburn, Wysall.

**MONASTERIES.** *Beauvale Priory*: 3 m. W. of Hucknall Torkard. *Mattersey Priory*: scanty remains of church, monastic buildings and cloister. *Newstead Priory*: portions of present house, which is occupied. Thurgarton: existing church and undercroft of adjoining house. Worksop: existing church and fine gate-house.

**HOUSES.** Babworth. Balderton. Barnby Moor: *Bell Hotel*. Barton-in-Fabis. Basford. Beckingham. Blyth. *East Bridgford Hall*. Bunny. West Burton. Car Colston. Clifton. *Clumber House*: SW. of East Retford. Coddington. Cossall: almshouses. Dunham-on-Trent. Eakring. *Edwinstowe Hall*. Gringley-on-the-Hill. *Grove Hall*. Halloughton. *Holme Pierrepont Hall*. Langford. Laxton. Littleborough. Lowdham: *Broughton Hall*. Nottingham. *Nuttall Temple* (Palladian). Ollerton. Orston. *Papplewick Hall*. Rampton: *Manor House*. East Retford: *Carolgate* almshouse. West

Retford: *Trinity Hospital*. *Rufford Abbey*: 2 m. SW. of Ollerton. Scarrington. Screveton: *Brunsell Hall*. Sibthorpe: dovecot. Southwell. *Staunton Hall*. *East Stoke Hall*. Sutton Bonnington: *Repton Grange*. *Thrumpton Hall*. Tuxford. Warsop: *Nettleworth Hall*. Watnall: *The Old Hall*. *Welbeck Abbey*: 1 m. S. of Worksop. Wellow. North Wheatley. Willoughby-on-the-Wolds. *Wiverton Hall*. Wollaton: dovecot and *Wollaton Hall*.

CASTLES. Annesley: *Castle Hill* (M and B). Aslockton (M and B). Egmanston: *Gaddick Hill* (M and B). Laxton (M and B). Lowdham (M). Newark. Nottingham: castle, and small portion of town walls in castle grounds. Worksop: *Castle Mound* (M).

## OXFORDSHIRE

EARLY MEN. **Rough Stone Monuments**. Steeple Barton: *The Hoar Stone* (T, ruined). Chadlington: *The Hawk Stone* (S). Enstone: *The Hoar Stone* (T, fallen). Little Rollright: *The Rollright Stones* (O) and *The Whispering Knights* (T, fallen), and see Warwickshire. Shipton-under-Wychwood: 2 m. NE. of, (S). Spelsbury: *The Thor Stone* (S). Stanton Harcourt: *The Devil's Quoits* (S). **Hill-Forts and Camps**. Steeple Barton: *Maiden Bower*. Bladon: *The Round Castle*. Chadlington: *Knoll Bury*. Chastleton *Hill Camp*. Dorchester: *The Dyke Hills*. Hempton: 1 m. S. of, *Ilbury*. Shipton-under-Wychwood: 3 m. NE. of, camp on left of road to Chipping Norton. Shutford: *Madmarston Camp*. Tadmarton: camp on Tadmarton Heath. **Museums**. Oxford: *Ashmolean Museum* and *Pitt-Rivers Museum*.

ROMAN. **Towns**. Alchester: grass mounds, marking Roman site. Dorchester: banks, marking site of Roman town walls. **Villa**. North Leigh. **Museums**. Oxford: *Ashmolean Museum* and *Pitt-Rivers Museum*.

SAXON. **Barrow**. Asthall. **Churches**. Langford, *St. Michael* Oxford, Swalcliffe. **Dial**. Marsh Baldon.

CHURCHES. **Norman**. Iffley. **Decorated**. Drayton (except tower) and many churches show good work in this style. **Perpendicular**. Coombe, Ewelme, Minster Lovell. **Furniture**. Adderbury, Alkerton (A), Ardley, Asthall, Steeple Aston, Bampton, Barford St. Michael (A), Westcott Barton, Beckley, Berrick, Bicester, Black Bourton, Bloxham, Brightwell Baldwin, Brize Norton, Broadwell

(A), Broughton, Bucknell, Burford, Cassington, Chalgrove, Charlton-on-Otmoor, Chastleton, Checkendon (A), Chinnor, Chipping Norton, Coggs (A), Coombe, Cropredy, Cuddesdon, Deddington, Ducklington (A), Water Eaton Chapel, Wood Eaton, Enstone (A), Ewelme, Fritwell (A), Hampton Poyle, Church Handborough, Great Haseley (A), Horley, Horspath, Idbury, Kelmscott (A), Kidlington, Kingham, Langford (A), South Leigh, Lewknor, Merton, Great Milton, South Newington (A), Northmoor (A), Piddington, Great Rollright, Rousham, Rycote Chapel, *St. Peter-in-the-East* (A) and *St. Mary the Virgin* and many college chapels, Oxford, Shilton (A), Shipton-under-Wychwood, Shorthampton, Shutford, Somerton, Souldern (A), Stanton Harcourt, Stanton St. John, Swalcliffe, Swinbrook, Tadmarton, Taynton, Great Tew, Thame, Warborough, Wardington, Westwell (A), Wigginton, Witney, Wroxton, Yarnton, Yelford.

MONASTERIES. Adderbury: tithe barn. Bicester: remains of *Priory of St. Edburgh* in *Priory Cottage*. Clattercot: remains of Gilbertine priory. Dorchester: existing church and school-house W. of it. Enstone: tithe barn. Godstow: boundary wall of nunnery and scanty remains. Goring: traces in parish church. Upper Heyford: tithe barn. Sandford-on-Thames: remains of house of Templars, which later passed to the Hospitallers, in farm NW. of church. Swalcliffe: tithe barn.

HOUSES. Adderbury. Alkerton: *Rectory*. Asthall. North Aston. Steeple Aston. Balscott. Bampton. Bampton Aston: *Cote House*. Banbury. Barford St. John: *Moat Farm*. Beckley. Benson. Bladon: house opposite church. Bletchington. Bloxham: *Joiners' Arms*. Brightwell Baldwin. Broadwell. Broughton Castle:  $2\frac{1}{2}$  m. SW. of Banbury. Burford. Charlbury: *Lee Place*. Charlton-on-Otmoor. *Chastleton House*. Chipping Norton. Coggs. Coombe. *Cornbury Park*: 1 m. SW. of Charlbury. *Cornwell House*. *Cottisford House*. Cuddesdon: *Bishop's Palace*. Culham. Cuxham. Deddington. Ditchley. Dorchester. Ducklington. Water Eaton: *Manor House*. Wood Eaton. Elsfeld. *Elvendon Priory*. Enstone. Ewelme. Little Faringdon. Fifield. Finmere. Fringford. Fritwell: *Manor House*. Glympton. *Hanwell Castle*. Great Haseley. Henley. Upper Heyford. Horley. Hornton. Horspath. Ipsden. *Kelmscott Manor*. Kidlington. Kingham. Langford. Langley: farmhouse incorporating remains of royal hunting-lodge. Littlemore:

*The Minchery.* Mapledurham. Marston. Merton: *Manor House.* Great Milton. Minster Lovell: *Manor House.* Mongewell. Northmoor. Nuneham Courtney: the great house and XVIII cottages. Oxford: many college halls and domestic buildings, and *Radcliffe Camera.* Pyrton: *Manor House.* Rotherford Greys: *Greys Court.* Rousham House. Shilton. Shipton-under-Wychwood. Shutford: *Manor House.* Somerton: *Troy Farm.* Souldern: *Manor House.* Standlake: *Rectory.* Stanton Harcourt: *Manor House.* Stanton St. John: *Manor House.* Stonor Park: 4 m. N. of Henley. Studley Priory: 6½ m. NE. of Oxford. Sydenham. Tackley. Tangle Hall: about 4 m. E. of Shipton-under-Wychwood. Great Tew. Thame. Tusmore: granary. Waterperry: *Manor House.* Watlington. Weston-on-the-Green: *Manor House.* Westwell. Wheatley. Whitchurch. Witney. Woodstock: *Blenheim Palace.* Nether Warton; *Manor House.* Wroxton Abbey. Yarnton: *Manor House.* Yelford.

CASTLES. Chipping Norton: mounds and ditches only. Deddington: ramparts only. Middleton Stoney: foundations. Oxford: castle, and part of town walls in *New College.* Shirburn. Watlington: traces of moat only.

## RUTLAND

ROMAN. **Camps.** Great Casterton: traces clearly visible at E. end of village. Market Overton.

SAXON. **Church.** Market Overton.

CHURCHES. **Norman.** Tickencote. **Furniture.** Ashwell, Braunston, Brooke, Little Casterton, Egleton, Empingham, Essendine, Exton, Ketton (A) with perhaps the most beautiful spire in England, Langham (A), North Luffenham, Lyddington, Oakham, Preston (A), Ryhall, Stoke Dry, Teigh, Tixover, Whissendine.

HOUSES. Burley: *Burley-on-the-Hill.* Caldecote. Little Casterton: *Tolethorpe Hall.* Empingham. Exton Old Hall. Nether Hambleton Old Hall. Ketton. North Luffenham Hall. Lyddington: *Bede House* and others. *Normanton Hall.* Oakham: a number of houses, but above all *Oakham Castle.* Uppingham: original school building.

CASTLES. Exton: only mound and moat remain. Oakham: mainly domestic, with very fine Norman work.

## SHROPSHIRE

**EARLY MEN. Rough Stone Monuments.** Clun: *Pen y Wern* (o). Middleton in Chirbury: *Mitchell's Fold* (o), *The Whetstones* (part of o), and *Hoarstone Circle* (o). Clunbury: on Clunbury Hill (s). Newcastle: at Whitcot Keyset (s). Norton-in-Hales: *The Bradling Stone* (? T). **Habitations.** Claverley: *Abbot's Castle*, pit dwellings. Knowbury: *Titterstone Clee Camp*, hut circles. **Hill-Forts and Camps.** Baschurch: *The Berth* (? prehistoric). Bayston Hill: *The Burghs*. Bedstone: *Castle Ditches*. Bettws y Crwyn: *Bryn Amlwg Castle*. Brockton: *The Ditches*. Bucknell: *Coxall Camp*. Caynham Camp. Chirbury: *Caer Bre*. Claverley: *Abbot's Castle*. Clee St. Margaret: *Nordy Bank Camp*. Clun: *Gaer Ditches*,  $3\frac{1}{2}$  m. SW.; *Caer Caradoc*, 4 m. S.; *Bury Ditches*,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  m. NE.; and three other camps to the NW. in Clun Forest. Hodnet: *Bury Walls*. Hopesay: *Burrow Hill Camp* and *Wart Hill Camp*. Kinnersley: *Wall Camp*. Knowbury: *Titterstone Clee Camp*. Lydbury North: *Billings Rings*. Minsterley: *Callow Hill Camp*. More: camp on Linley Hill. Newcastle: *Fron Camp*, and another on the opposite side of the Folly Brook. Oswestry: *Old Oswestry*. Pontesbury: *Earl's Hill Camp* and *Pontesford Hill Camp*. Church Pulverbatch: on Wilderley Hill. Quatford: *Burf Castle*. Ratlinghope: *Ratlinghope Hill Camp* and *Castle Ring* on Stitt Hill. Church Stretton: *Bodbury Ring* and *Caer Caradoc*. Wellington: *Wrekin Camp*. Wem: camp near Tilleygreen. Worthen: camp above Walton Mill. **Museums.** Ludlow, Shrewsbury.

**ROMAN. Road.** A road called *Devil's Causeway* to the camp on Nordy Bank at Clee St. Margaret is paved with stone for some 500 yards, and may be Roman. **Camps.** Norton, near Stokesay. Haughton: *Ebury Hill Camp*. Neen Savage: *Wall Town*. Town. Wroxeter. **Museums.** Shrewsbury, Wroxeter.

**SAXON. Earthwork.** *Offa's Dyke* is to be seen at Chirbury, Clun, Mainstone, Newcastle, Oswestry, and Selattyn. **Churches.** Atcham, Barrow, Diddlebury, Stanton Lacy, Stottesdon, Wroxeter. **Cross.** Wroxeter.

**CHURCHES. Norman.** Heath. **Perpendicular.** Battlefield, Tong. **Furniture.** Acton Scott, Alveley, Ashford Carbonell (A), Atcham, Bettws y Crwyn, Bitterley, Bridgnorth Hermitage, Burford, Cardington, Church Pulverbatch, Claverley, Cleobury North,



Clive (modern wood-carving), Clun, Condober, Culmington, Easthope, Edgton, Edstaston, Ellesmere, Ford, Halston, Hodnet, Hughley, Kenley, Kinlet, Langley, Llan y Blodwell, Longnor, Ludlow, Lydbury North, Melverley, More, Morville (A), Munslow, Neen Savage, Petton, Quatt, Rushbury, *St. Mary Shrewsbury*, Shifnal (A), Stanton Lacy (A), Stapleton (A), Stockton, Stokesay, Stottesdon, Tong, Upton Cresset (A), Willey, Wistanstow, Worfield, Wroxeter. Near the church at Beckbury is an xviii cock-pit.

MONASTERIES. Alberbury: *White Abbey*, remains in farm. Boscobel: *White Ladies*, remains of church of Cistercian nunnery. Bromfield: existing church and a gate-house. Buildwas. Chirbury: part of existing church, and base of a pillar in the churchyard. Church Preen: existing church. Lilleshall. Shrewsbury: existing church of *Holy Cross*, and *Refectory Pulpit* on the other side of the road, in a coal-yard; remains of Franciscan Friary, now turned into cottages. Uffington: *Haughmond Abbey*. Much Wenlock.

HOUSES. Acton Round: former hall, now farm-house. *Acton Scott Hall* and *Alcaston*. Alberbury: *Loton Park* and *Braggington Manor House*. Albrighton-by-Shifnal. Albrighton-by-Shrewsbury. Alveley. Ashford Carbonell: *Ashford House* and the former *Serpent Inn*. Astley Abbots. *Aston Botterell Hall* and old *Manor House*. Aston Eyres: *Hall Farm*. Atcham: *Attingham*. *Badger Hall*. Barrow: almshouses. Battlefield: *Manor House*. Bayston Hill: *Manor House*. *Beckbury Hall*. *Bedstone Court*. *Benthall Hall*. Berrington: *Manor Farm*. Berwick. Bettws y Crwyn: *Hall of the Forest*. Bicton. Bishop's Castle: old *Market House* and *Town Hall*. Bitterley. Bobbington: *Blacklands*. Bonninghall. Boraston with Whatmore. Boscobel. *Bourton Hall*. Bridgnorth. Bromfield: *Burway House*. Cardington. *Chelmarsh Hall*. *Chetwynd Hall*. Chirbury: *Marrington Hall*. Claverley: old vicarage and *Ludstone Hall*. Clee St. Margaret. Cleobury Mortimer: *Reaside Manor* and *Mawley Hall*. Clun: *Hospital of the Holy Trinity*. Clunbury: *Purslow Hall*. Clungunford: *Abcott Manor House*, *Broadward Hall* and *Heath House*. Condober. *Cound Hall*. Cressage: *Belswardyne Hall*. Diddlebury: *Delbury Hall*, *Elsich* and *Sutton Court*. Eaton Constantine: home of Richard Baxter. Eaton-under-Heywood: Norman house of the King's Forester at Upper Millichope, *Wolverton* and *The New Hall*. Edgmond: the old rectory. Edstaston: *Coton Hall*. Ellesmere: *Hardwick Hall* and *Lee Hall*. *High Ercall*

*Old Hall*. Ensdon. West Felton: *Manor House* and *Tedsmore Hall*. *Fitz Manor*. Frankton: *Old Marton Hall*. Frodesley: *The Old Lodge*. Greet: *Court House Farm* and *Stoke House*. Grinshill: *The Grange*. Habberley Hall. Halston Hall. Higley: *Church House*. Hodnet. Hope Bowdler: *Chelmick Manor*. Hopton Castle. Hopton Wafers: *Hopton Court*. *Ighfield Manor*. Kenley: *Rectory*. *Kinlet Hall*. Knockin. Langley: gate-house of manor house. Lee-botwood. Leighton-under-the-Wrekin: *Leighton Hall*. *Lilleshall Old Hall*. *Linley Hall*. Llan y Blodwell: *Horse Shoe Inn*. *Longnor House* and *Moat House*. *Loppington House*; and in front of the *Dickin Arms Inn* is a Bull Ring, to which the animals were fastened during bull-baiting. Ludford. Ludlow. Lydbury North: *Plowden Hall*. *Madeley Court* and *The Upper House*. Market Drayton. Marton. Minsterley. Minton. Monkhopton: 2 m. SW., at Great Oxenbold, are remains of country house of the priors of Much Wenlock. More: *Linley Hall*. Moreton Corbet: *Preston Brockhurst Hall*. Moreton Say. *Morville Hall* and *Aldenham Hall*. Munslow. Myddle: *Court of Hill*. Ness Magna. Little Ness: *Milford Hall*. Newport. Newton, near Stokesay. Oswestry. *Pitchford Hall*. Pontesbury: *Moat Hall*. Preston Gobalds: *Lea Hall*. Preston-on-the-Weald Moors: hospital. Richard's Castle. Rushbury. Selattyn: *Brogyntyn House*. Sheriffhales: *Manor House*. *Shipton Hall* and *Larden Hall* and *Morehouse*. Shrawardine. Shrewsbury. Sidbury: *Manor House*. Shifnal. Stanton Lacy. Stapleton: *The Moat Farm*. Stoke St. Milborough: *Moor Farm*. All Stretton. Church Stretton: the former *Talbot Inn*. Tibberton-cum-Cherrington: *Cherrington Manor*. Tong. Upton Cresset: *Upton Hall*. Wellington. Wem: *The Ditches* and *Soulton*. Much Wenlock. Westbury: *Marche Manor*. Weston Lullingfield: *Shrawardine Hall*. Whittington: *The Old House*. *Whitton Court*. Willey: *Manor House*. Wistanstow: *Cheney Longville*. Wollaston: *Old Parr's Cottage*. *Wolstaston Hall*. Woofferton. Worfield. Worthen: various old houses in this large parish. Yorton: *Balderton Hall*.

CASTLES. Acton Burnell. Alberbury (TH). Baschurch: *The Berth* (? M). Bishop's Castle: remains in the Castle Inn, and *Bishop's Moat* (M and B). Bridgnorth: fragment of keep. Brockton (M). Cardeston: *Wattlesborough Castle* (TH). Chirbury: *The King's Orchard* (? M). Cleobury Mortimer: earthworks only. Clun.

Diddlebury: *Broncroft Castle*. Ellesmere (M). Holgate: small remains. *Hopton Castle*. *Lea Castle*: 2 m. E. of Bishop's Castle (TH). Ludlow: castle and *Broad Gate*. Minton (M). Myddle: small remains. Castle Pulverbatch (M). *Richard's Castle*. Rushbury (M). Shifnal (?M). Little Shrawardine (M). Shrewsbury: castle, and part of town walls, with one tower remaining. Stapleton (?M). Stokesay: fortified manor house, an excellent example of the type. Church Stretton: *Brockhurst Castle*, earthworks and fragmentary masonry. Tong Norton: *Castle Hill* (M). Wern (M). Westbury: *Caus Castle*, earthworks only, and *Hawcocks Mount* (M). Whittington. Wrockwardine: *Charlton Castle*, mound and fragment of masonry only.

## SOMERSET

**EARLY MEN. Rough Stone Monuments.** East Harptree: earthen circle, E. of Hill Grange. Porlock: *Whit Stones* (s). Stanton Drew (o). Stoney Littleton: long barrow (r). Withypool: on Withypool Hill (o). **Habitations.** Weston-super-Mare: *Worlebury*, pit dwellings. *Wookey Hole*. Lake-villages have been excavated at Glastonbury and Meare. **Lynchets.** Bath: on Charmy Down. Bathampton Down. **Hill-Forts and Camps.** *Banwell Camp*. *Bathampton Down Camp*. Batheaston: *Solsbury Hill Camp* (IA). *Brent Knoll Camp*. Broomfield: *Ruborough Camp*. South Cadbury: *Cadbury Castle* (IB). Cannington: *Cynwit's Castle* (IB). Carhampton: *Bat's Castle*. Chilcompton: *Blacker's Hill Camp*. Churchill: *Dolebury* (IB). *Clatworthy Camp*. *Cloford Merehead Camp*. Compton Dundon: *Dundon Hill Camp*. Congresbury: *Cadbury Hill Camp*. Croscombe: *Maesbury Camp*. Dodington: *Dowsborough Camp*. Dunster: camp on Gallox Hill. Great Elm: *Tedbury Camp*. Evercreech: *Small Down Camp*. Mells: *Kingsdown Camp* (IB). *Norton Fitzwarren Camp*. Norton Malreward: *Maes Knoll Camp*. Stanton Prior: *Stantonbury*. Stoke-sub-Hamdon: *Ham Hill* (IA). Tickenham: *Cadbury Camp* (IB). Weston-super-Mare: *Worlebury* (IB). *Whitestaunton Camp*. Winsford: *Staddon Hill Camp*. Wiveliscombe: *King's Castle*. **Museums.** Bath, Glastonbury, Taunton.

**ROMAN. Villa.** Whitestaunton: foundations in grounds of Manor House near church. A pavement is also preserved in a field near Whatley House, Whatley. **Amphitheatre.** Charterhouse-

on-Mendip. This place was once the centre of a Roman mining settlement. **Baths.** Bath.

**SAXON. Earthwork.** *Wansdyke* is to be seen at Englishcombe. **Strip Lynchets.** South Cadbury: on the S. face of *Cadbury Castle*. **Cross.** West Camel. **Dial.** Lullington.

**CHURCHES. Perpendicular.** Axbridge, Banwell, Bruton, North Cadbury, Chard, Cheddar, Crewkerne, *St. John* Glastonbury, Mells, West Pennard, *St. Mary Magdalene* Taunton, Wedmore, Wellow, Yeovil. **Furniture.** Alford, Backwell, Baltonsborough, Banwell, South Barrow, Barwick, Beckington, Berrow, Bicknoller, Bishop's Hull, East and South Brent, Bridgwater, Broomfield, Brympton d'Evercy, North Cadbury, Queen Camel, West Camel, Cannington, Carhampton, Castle Cary, Catcott, *St. Catherine*, Charlton Adam, Charlton Mackrell, Cheddar, Chedzoy, Chew Magna, Chewton Mendip, Chilton Cantelo, Christon (A), Churchill, Clevedon, Compton Bishop, Compton Martin (A), Congresbury, Cothelstone, Creech St. Michael, Crewkerne, Croscombe, Crowcombe, Culbone (A), Currey Rivel, Ditcheat, Elworthy, Evercreech (A), Flax Bourton (A), Frome (A), Greinton, Halse, High Ham, Hatch Beauchamp, Huish Episcopi (A), Ile Abbots (A), Ilminster, Kewstoke (A), Keynsham, Kingsbury Episcopi, Kingston St. Mary, Langridge, Leigh-on-Mendip, Loxton, Lullington (A), Bishop's Lydeard, Lydeard St. Lawrence, Lyng, Mark, Marston Magna (A), Martock, Middlezoy, Milborne Port (A), Milverton, Minehead, Monksilver, Montacute (A), Moorlynch, Muchelney, North Newton, Norton Fitzwarren, Nynhead, Orchardleigh, Orchard Portman, East Pennard, South Petherton, Pilton, Pitminster, Puxton, East Quantoxhead, Raddington, Rimpston, Sampford Brett, Selworthy, Shepton Mallet, Somerton, Spaxton, Staple Fitzpaine (A), Stogumber, Stogursey, Stoke-sub-Hamdon, Stoke Rodney, Stoke St. Gregory, Sutton Bingham, Long Sutton, Swell, Thurloxton, Timberscombe, Tintinhull, Trull, Watchet, Wedmore, Wellow, *St. Cuthbert* Wells, Weston-in-Gordano, Whitestaunton, Winsham, Worle. Wyke Champflower.

**MONASTERIES.** *Bath Abbey.* Bruton: the abbey court-house and a dovecot. *St. Catherine:* tithe barn. *Cleeve Abbey.* Doultong: tithe barn. Dulverton: *Barlynch Priory* (frag). Dunster: existing church, prior's lodging, barn and dovecot. Englishcombe: tithe

Abbot's Bromley. King's Bromley. Bushbury: *Moseley Old Hall*. Cannock: *The Four Crosses Inn*. *Beaudesert Hall*: 1 m. SW. of Upper Longdon. *Caverswall Castle*. Chartley. Cheadle. Drayton Bassett: *Drayton Manor*. Eccleshall. Ellastone. *Fairwell Hall*. Great Haywood: *Shugborough Hall*. Harlaston: *Haselour Hall*. *Haughton Old Hall*. *Himley Hall*, *The Crooked House* and *Holbeach House*. Horton. Ipstones. Kingsley: old rectory: and by the churchyard gate is the ring to fasten the bull for bull-baiting. Kingswinford: *Bradley Hall*. Kinver: some old houses, and also cave dwelling still in use. Leek. Lichfield. *Madeley Hall*. Maer: *Vicarage*. *Mayfield Old Hall*. Penkridge. Hamstall Ridware: *Hall Farm*. *Mavesyn Ridware Hall* and gate-house of old manor house. Rugeley. Seighford. Shallowford. Sharesill: *Hilton Hall*. Shenstone. Stafford. Tamworth. *Upper Tean Old Hall*. Tettenhall: *The Barnhurst*. *Throwley Old Hall*: 2 m. N. of Calton. Tittensor: ruins of manor house. Tixall: gate-house of old hall. Tutbury: *Dog and Partridge Inn*. Uttoxeter. West Bromwich: *The Oak House*. *Weston-under-Lizard Hall*. Wolverhampton: *The Deanery*. Womburne: *The Wodehouse*. Wootton Lodge.

CASTLES. Alton (frag). Chartley: two large round towers and some earthworks. Cheadle: *Huntley Castle Mound* (M). Eccleshall: small remains incorporated in private residence. Madeley Heath: *Heighley Castle* (frag). *Rushall Hall*: remains of XIV fortified house. Stafford: fragment of the *Eastgate*. Tamworth. Tutbury.

## SUFFOLK

EARLY MEN. **Camp**. There is a camp at Clare that has all the appearance of being prehistoric. **Museums**. Bury St. Edmunds, Ipswich. Practically all the remains of early men in Suffolk are to be found in museums. It is well worth while to visit Brandon and see the work of the 'knappers' who still pursue the occupation of shaping flints.

ROMAN. **Camp**. Brettenham: traces of a camp in a field  $\frac{3}{4}$  m. W. of the church. **Fort**. Burgh Castle. **Museums**. Bury St. Edmunds, Ipswich.

SAXON. **Churches**. Debenham, South Elmham *Old Minster*, Gosbeck, Hemingstone, Herringfleet.

CHURCHES. **Early English**. Lindsey: *St. James's Chapel*. **Perpendicular**. Beccles, Blythburgh, *St. Mary* Bungay, Denston,

Lavenham, Long Melford, Southwold, Stoke-by-Nayland, *St. Gregory* Sudbury, *St. Peter* Sudbury, Woodbridge. Furniture. Aldeburgh, Great Ashfield, Bacton, Badingham, Barking, Barnby, Barningham, Barsham, Barton Mills, Beddingfield, Belstead, Belton, East Bergholt (A), Blundeston, Blythburgh, Boxford, Bradfield Combust or Burnt Bradfield, Bramfield, Bramford, Brandon, Bredfield, Brent Eleigh, Burstall, *St. Mary* Bury St. Edmunds, Butley, Buxhall, Cavendish, Chediston, Chelsworth, Clare, Combs, Cookley, North and South Cove, Cratfield, Denham (near Eye), Dennington, Denston, Downham, Easton, Elmswell, Eriswell, Eye, Fakenham Magna, Fornham All Saints, Framlingham, Freckenham, Fressingfield, Fritton, Gedding (A), Gisleham, Gissingham, Grundisburgh, Hacheston, Hadleigh, Halesworth, Hargrave, Hawstead, Herringfleet (A), Hessett, Hitcham, Holbrook, Hopton (near Thetford), Hundon, *All Saints* Icklingham, *St. Mary Quay* Ipswich, Ixworth Thorpe, Kedington, Kersey, Lackford, Lakenheath, Lavenham, Laxfield, Livermere Magna, Martlesham, Long Melford, Mellis, Mendlesham, Mildenhall, Needham Market, Newton, Norton, Occold, Pakenham, Parham, Poslingford, Rattlesden, Redgrave, Ringsfield, Risby, Little Saxham, Shelly, Sibton, Southwold, Stansfield, Stoke-by-Clare, Stoke-by-Nayland, Earl Stonham, Stowlangtoft, Stowmarket, Stratford St. Mary, *All Saints*, *St. Gregory* and *St. Peter* Sudbury, Tostock, Troston, Tuddenham St. Martin, Ufford, Little Waldingfield, Walpole (*Old Meeting House*), Walsham-le-Willows, Little Wenham, Wenhaston, Westhall, Wetherden, Wilby, Wingfield, Withersfield, Wimesham, Woodbridge, Woolpit, Worlingham, Worlingworth, Yaxley.

MONASTERIES. Blythburgh: scanty remains of priory. Bury St. Edmunds. Butley Priory: gateway, now the vicarage, and remains in farm buildings. Buxhall: *Abbey Farm*, barn and part of farm-house. Clare: remains of house of Austin Friars, in private residence. Dunwich: gateway and ruins of Franciscan Friary. Herringfleet: remains of *St. Olave's Priory*. Ipswich: remains of Friary (frag) in Friar's Road, and *Wolsey's Gate* in College Street. Ixworth: remains of Priory in modern house called *Ixworth Abbey*. Kersey: remains of Priory in farm-house of that name. *Leiston Abbey*. Letheringham: gate-house of Priory. Poslingford: *Chipley Abbey*, remains in farm buildings. *Sibton Abbey*.

HOUSES. Aldeburgh: *Moot Hall*. Ampton. *Aspall Hall*.

Bardwell: *Old Hall*. Barsham: *Rectory*. Barton Mills. Battisford: *Manor House*. Great Bealings: *Seckford Hall*. Beccles. East Bergholt. Beyton. Bildeston. Botesdale. Boxford. *Boxted Hall*: 3 m. N. of Glemsford. Bradfield St. Clare: *St. Clare Hall*. Brandeston. *Bredfield House*: 2 m. NW. of Melton station. *Brent Eleigh Hall*. *Great Bricett Hall*. Bungay. Bury St. Edmunds. Campsea Ash: *Ash High House*. Cavendish. *Chediston Hall*. Chelmondiston: *Pin Mill*. *Chilton Hall*. Clare. *Claydon Old Hall*. Cockfield. Coddtenham. *Cotton Hall*. Cratfield: *Town House*. *Crowfield Hall*. *Culford Hall*. *Dalham Hall*. *Darsham Old Hall*. Debenham. *Dennington Hall*. *Denston Hall*. South Elmham: *Hall*, and *St. Peter's Hall*. *Eriswell Hall*. Eye. Fornham All Saints. Framlingham. *Framsden Hall*. Fressingfield: *Fox and Goose Inn*. *Freston Tower*. Hadleigh. Halesworth. *Hardwicke House*: 1 m. S. by W. of Bury. Haughley. Hawkedon: *Thurston Hall*. *Helmingham Hall*: 2 m. SW. of Framsdén. *Hemingstone Hall*. *Hengrave Hall*: 2½ m. NE. of Saxham. *Heveningham Hall*. *Hintlesham Hall*. Holbrook. Hoxne. *Ickworth House* (late XVIII). Ipswich. Ixworth. *Kenton Hall*. Kersey. Lavenham. Laxfield. Lowestoft. Martlesham. Long Melford. Mildenhall. Needham Market. *Nettlestead Hall*. *Otley Hall*. *Oulton High House*. Pakefield. Pakenham: *Newe House*. Parham. *Playford Hall*. *Rushbrooke Hall*. Little Saxham: *Old Hall*. Saxmundham. *Shelly Hall*. Sotherton: *Henham Hall*. Stanningfield: *Coldham Hall*. Stoke-by-Nayland: *Gifford's Hall* and *Thorington Hall*. Stonham Aspell: *Broughton Hall*. Stonham Parva: *Clock House Farm*. *West Stow Hall*. Stowmarket. Stratford St. Mary. *Stutton Hall*. Sudbury. Sutton: *Wood Hall*. Thornham Magna: *Thornham Hall*. Little Thurlow. Troston: *Old Hall*. Ufford. Walberswick. *Little Wenham Hall*. *Wetherden Hall*. *Wetheringsett*: *Shrubland Hall*. Wherstead. Wickham Market. Wickhambrook: *Bansfield Hall*. Woodbridge. *Woolverstone Hall* (1776). *Wortham Manor*. Yoxford.

CASTLES. Great Ashfield: *Castle Hill* (M). Bungay. Clare. Eye. Framlingham. Groton: *Pytches Mount* (M). Haughley: earthworks and foundations only. Ilketshall St. John: *The Mount* (M and B). Lydgate (M and B). Lindsey: *The Mounts* (M and B). Mettingham: gateway and extensive but fragmentary remains. Milden: *Fox-burrow Hill* (M and B). Offton (M). Orford. Otley: *The Mount* (M and B). Wingfield: remains of fortified manor house.

## SURREY

**EARLY MEN. Habitations.** Hut circles or pit dwellings at Cobham: Leigh Hill. Croydon: Croham Hurst and Shirley. Fetcham: Hawkshill. **Hill-Forts and Camps.** Abinger: *Holmbury Hill Camp*. Ashtead: camp in Ashtead Forest. Capel: *Anstiebury Camp*. Caterham: camp at War Coppice. Farnham: *Caesar's Camp*. Godstone: earthworks in Lagham Park and Castle Hill Wood. *Hascombe Hill Camp*. Lingfield: *Dry Hill Camp*. Puttenham: *Hillbury Camp* (possibly Romano-British). Weybridge: *St. George's Hill Camp*. Wimbledon: *Caesar's Camp*. **Museums.** Croydon: *Thornton Heath Museum*. Farnham. Godalming: *Old Town Hall and Charterhouse School Museum*. Guildford. Haslemere. Kingston: *Public Library*. Richmond: *Public Library*. Weybridge. Wimbledon.

**ROMAN. Camp.** Albury: on Farley Heath. **Villas.** Ashtead. Compton: near Down Lane. Titsey: in Titsey Park. **Museums.** Croydon: *Central Library and Thornton Heath Museum*. Godalming: *Charterhouse School Museum*. Guildford. Haslemere. Kingston: *Public Library*. Weybridge.

**SAXON. Churches.** Fetcham, *St. Mary* Guildford, Stoke D'Abernon, Thursley, Witley, Wotton. **Grosses.** Kingston-on-Thames, Stoke D'Abernon. In the market-place at Kingston is the coronation stone of seven Saxon kings.

**CHURCHES. Early English.** There is much good work in this style, though no complete church. **Furniture.** Alford, Beddington, Great Bookham, Burstow (A), Chaldon, Charlwood, Cheam, Chipstead, Compton, Cranleigh, Crowhurst, Dunsfold, Elstead (A), Godalming (A), *St. Mary* Guildford (A), East Horsley, West Horsley, Leatherhead, Lingfield, Merton (A), Merstham, Newdigate, Nutfield, Ockham, Oxted, Pyrford, Reigate, Send, Shere (A), Stoke d'Abernon, Tandridge (A), Thursley (A), Warlingham, Witley (A), *St. Peter* Woking, Wonersh (A).

**MONASTERIES.** Chertsey: foundations of monastic church and chapter-house. Farnham: *Waverley Abbey*. Send: *Newark Priory*, portions of monastic church.

**HOUSES.** Abinger: porch of manor house and *Crossways Farm*. Alford. Beddington. Betchingley. Great Bookham: *Old Barn Hall* and *Slyfield Manor House*. Burstow: *Smallfield Place*. Capel.



*Carshalton House*. Cheam: *Council House*. Chertsey. Chiddingfold. Chobham: *Brook Place* and *Stannards*. East Clandon. West Clandon: *Clandon Park*. Cobham. Cranleigh: *Baynards Park*. Crowhurst: *The Old Mansion* and *Crowhurst Place*. Croydon: *Palace* and *Whitgift Hospital*. Dorking. Egham: *Great Fosters*. Elstead. Esher. Ewell. Ewhurst. Farnham. Godalming. Godstone. Guildford. Hambledon. Haslemere. Horley: *The Six Bells Inn*. *West Horsley Place*. Kew: *The Pagoda* and *Kew House*. Leatherhead. *Leigh Place*. Limpsfield. Lingfield. Littleton: *Loseley House*. Mickleham. Milford. Newdigate. Ockham. Ockley. Oxted. Petersham. Puttenham. Pyrford. Reigate. Ripley. Seale: *East End Farm*. Shamley Green: *Post Office*. Shere. Stoke-next-Guildford: almshouse. Thorpe. Thursley. *Titsey Place*. Walton-on-the-Hill: *Walton Place*. Wanborough: barn. Warlingham. Wimbledon: *Eagle House*. Witley. Woking: the old village and *Sutton Place*. Womersley. Woodmansterne: *The Oaks*. Wotton House. Wyke: *Henley Park*.

CASTLES. Farnham. Guildford.

## SUSSEX

**EARLY MEN. Habitations.** Flint-mines of neolithic date at Findon: Cissbury Hill. Patching: Harrow Hill and Blackpatch Hill. **Lynchets.** Arundel Park. Brighton: Park Bottom and Eastwick Bottom. Eastbourne: on SW. spur of Windover Hill, 5 m. to the NW.; on Fore Down; and at Jevington. Falmer: Buckland Bank. Sompting: Park Brow. Storrington: Kithurst Hill. **Hill-Forts and Camps.** Binderton: *Goosehill Camp*. Brighton: *Whitehawk Camp* (N). *Burpham Camp*. Eastbourne: *Beltout Camp* and *Combe Hill Camp* (N). Ferring: *Highdown Hill Camp*. Findon: *Cissbury Ring* (N, IA, and late Roman). Glynde: *Mount Caburn* (IA). Goodwood: *The Trundle* (N and IA). Harting: *Beacon Hill Camp* (IA). Hastings: *East Hill Camp*. West Hoathey: *Philpotts Camp*. Lewes: *Ranscombe Camp*. Patcham: *Hollingbury Castle* (IA). Portslade: *Thundersbarrow Hill Camp* (IA). Poynings: *Devil's Dyke Camp*. Pyecombe: *Wolstonbury* (IA). Rotherfield: *Saxonbury Camp* (IA). *Seaford Camp*. Washington: *Chanctonbury Ring*. Westmeston: *Ditchling Beacon*. **Museums.** Brighton, Chichester.

**ROMAN. Camps or Stations.** Alfoldean: near Slinfold. Hardham: 1½ m. SW. of Pulborough. **Fort.** Pevensey. **Villa.** Bignor.

**Town.** Chichester: walls are on Roman foundations. **Earth-works.** Chichester: *Devil's Ditch* and other earthworks protecting the town from the north. **Museums.** Hove, Lewes, Worthing.

**SAXON. Churches.** Arlington, Bishopstone, Bolney, Bosham, Botolphs, Clayton, *St. John sub Castro* Lewes, Singleton, Sompting, Stopham, Westhampnett, Woolbeding, Worth. **Tomb-Slab.** Bexhill. **Dial.** Bishopstone.

**CHURCHES. Early English.** Appledram, Chidham, Clymping, Oving, Pevensey. **Decorated.** Etchingham. **Perpendicular.** Arundel, Hailsham, Poynings. **Furniture.** Aldingbourne (A), Alfriston (A), Amberley (A), Appledram, Ardingly, Arlington, Arundel, Battle, Bishopstone (A), Berwick, Bosham, Brede, Broadwater, Bury, Burpham (A), West Chiltington, Clapham (A), Coates (A), Cocking (A), East Dean (3½ m. W. of Eastbourne), West Dean (3 m. E. of Seaford), Denton, Didling, Ditchling (A), Eastbourne, Etchingham, Felpham (A), Fletching, Ford, West Grinstead, Horsham (A), Icklesham (A), Isfield, Kirdford, *St. John Southover* Lewes, Lullington (A), Mayfield, Newhaven (A), Ovingdean, Penhurst, Playden, Poynings, Preston, Pulborough, Racton, Rodmell (A), Rotherfield, Rye (A), New Shoreham (A), Old Shoreham (A), Singleton, Slaugham, Sompting, Stopham, Steyning (A), Tangmere (A), West Tarring, Telscombe (A), Thakeham, Thorney, Tortington (A), Trotton, Westbourne (A), Westham, Willingdon, Winchelsea, Wisborough Green (A), West Wittering.

**MONASTERIES.** Battle. *Bayham Abbey*: 6 m. SE. of Tunbridge Wells by road. Boxgrove: existing church, and slight other remains. Chichester: *Greyfriars' Chapel*, Priory Park. Cowfold: Carthusian monastery, founded when the religious orders were expelled from France in 1877; may be inspected. Easebourne (frag). Hardham. Lewes (frag). *Michelham Priory*: 2½ m. W. of Hailsham, mill, entrance tower, and other remains incorporated in farm buildings. Robertsbridge: remains in farm buildings. Rye: Carmelite chapel, S. of church, and remains of Augustinian house on Conduit Hill. *Shulbrede Priory*: 1 m. S. of Linchmere, ruins incorporated in private house. Tortington: remains (frag) in a barn. Wilmington: gateway, and a few other remains incorporated in a farm-house. Winchelsea: *Grey Friars*, S. of the church.

**HOUSES.** *Albourne Place*. Alfriston. Amberley. Angmering:

*Ecclesden Manor and New Place.* Ardingly: *Wakehurst Place.* Battle. Berwick. Bignor. Bosham. Bramber. *Brede Place.* *Brighton Pavilion.* Burpham. Buxted: *The Hog-house.* Chichester. *Cowdray House:* at Midhurst. Crawley. Crowhurst: *Manor House.* *Cuckfield Park.* East Dean: about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  m. W. of Eastbourne. West Dean: 3 m. E. of Seaford. Ditchling. *Eartham House.* Eastbourne: *Parsonage.* Edburton. Elsted: *Treyford Manor House.* Fletching. Forest Row: *Brambletye.* Framfield. Frant. *Friston Place.* Funtington. *Goodwood House.* East Grinstead. *Halnaker House:* E. of Goodwood. Harting. Hastings. Horsham: former *Grammar School.* Hurstpierpoint: *Danny.* *Isfield Place.* West Itchenor. *Laughton Place.* Lewes. Lindfield. Lurgashall. Mayfield. Midhurst. Newick. *Newtimber Place.* Northiam. Parham. *Petworth House,* and other old houses. Portslade. Poynings. Pulborough. Rottingdean. Rusper. Rye. Sedlescombe. Shermanbury: *Ewhurst.* *Slaugham Place.* *Slindon Park.* Southwater: *New Buildings Place.* Steyning. *Stopham House.* *Streat Place.* West Tarring. Telscombe. Ticehurst: *The Bell Inn.* Westmeston. Winchelsea. *Redlands and Wiston House.* West Wittering: *Cakeham Tower.* *Woolbeding House.*

**CASTLES.** Arundel. Bodiam. Bramber (frag). Chichester: city walls, and motte in NE. corner. *Burghlow:* near R. Cuckmere (M and B). Edburton (M and B). Hastings. Hurstmonceaux. Lewes. Pevensey. Pulborough: *Park Mount* (M). Rye: *The Land Gate,* *The Ypres Tower* and remains of town walls, and *Camber Castle* (Henry VIII). Shipley: *Knepp Castle* (frag). Winchelsea: *The Strand Gate,* *The New Gate* and *The Ferry Gate.*

## WARWICKSHIRE

**EARLY MEN.** **Rough Stone Monument.** Long Compton: *The King Stone* (s), and see Oxfordshire. **Hill-Forts and Camps.** *Corley Camp* (18). Fillongley: *Castle Hills Castle.* Ratley: *Nadbury Camp.* *Wappenbury Camp.* Wroxall: *Beausale Camp.* **Museum.** Warwick.

**ROMAN. Stations.** Chesterton, Mancetter. **Museum.** Warwick.

**SAXON. Church.** Wootton Wawen.

**CHURCHES.** **Decorated.** Temple Balsall. **Perpendicular.** Coughton, *Holy Trinity* and *St. John the Baptist* Coventry, Knowle,

Withybrook. **Furniture.** Astley, Aston, Aston Cantlow, Berks-well (A), Bickenhill, Brailes (A), Burton Dassett (A), Cherington, Coleshill, Long Compton (A), Compton Verney, Coughton, Curd-worth (A), Ettington, Fillongley (A), Ilmington (A), Knowle, Lap-worth (A), Leamington Hastings, Mancetter, Middleton, Rowing-ton, Shotteswell, Solihull, *Holy Trinity Church* and the *Chapel of the Guild of the Holy Cross* Stratford-on-Avon, Studley, Tysoe (A), Warmington (A), Wixford, Wolfhamcote, Wolston (A), Wootton Wawen, Wolverton, Wormleighton, Wyken (A).

**MONASTERIES.** Alvecote: remains in house called *Alvecote Priory*, and dovecot. Atherstone: part of existing church. Temple Balsall: existing church and refectory; once in the hands of the Templars, and then the Hospitallers. Combe Fields: remains of *Combe Abbey* incorporated in house. Coventry: remains to the N. of Holy Trinity Church; remains of priory incorporated in *The Charter House*; part of Carmelite friary in present workhouse; steeple of church of Franciscan friars. Kenilworth: remains of abbey. Maxstoke. Merevale: existing church, and remains of re-fectory and others in farm buildings. Nuneaton: parts of existing church, and small remains of other buildings of the nunnery. Polesworth: existing church, parts of gateway, and remains (frag) in vicarage garden. Stoneleigh: monastic remains incorporated in *Stoneleigh Abbey*, and gate-house. Studley: small remains of priory in farm. Wroxall: existing church; the present 'Abbey' is a large modern house.

**HOUSES.** Alcester. Amington. *Ansley Hall*. Arrow: *Ragley Hall*. Ashow. *Astley Castle*. *Aston Hall*. Aston Cantlow: *Guild-hall*. Atherstone. *Baddesley Clinton Hall*. Temple Balsall: *Hos-pital*. Barford. Barton-on-the-Heath: *Barton House*. Billesley *Hall*. Bilton. *Castle Bromwich Hall*. *Charlecote Park*. Coleshill. Little Compton: *Manor House*. Compton Verney. *Compton Wyn-yates*. *Corley Hall*. *Coughton Court*. Coventry. Dunchurch. Exhall. Farnborough. *Guy's Cliffe*. Hampton-in-Arden. Henley-in-Arden. Hillmorton. Ilmington. Long Itchington. Kenilworth. Kineton. *Kingsbury Hall*. Kinwarton: dovecot. Knowle. Lad-broke. Mancetter. Marton. Meriden. Monks Kirby: *Newnham Paddox*. Napton-on-the-Hill. *Offchurch Bury*. *Great Packington Hall*. *Packwood House*. *Pinley Abbey*. Polesworth: *Pooley Hall*. Priors Marston. Radway. Salford Priors. Shottery. *Solihull Hall*

and *Berry Hall*. Southam. Stoneleigh. *Stoneton House*. Stratford-on-Avon. Tachbrook. Warwick. Wasperton: dovecot. Wellesbourne. Whatcote. Whitnash. Wilmcote. *Little Wolford Hall*. Wolston: *Priory Farm*. Wootton Wawen. *Wolvey Hall*. Wormleighton: remains of *Manor House*.

**CASTLES.** Brailes (M and B). Castle Bromwich (M). Coventry: remains of city walls. Hartshill. Kenilworth. Maxstoke. Seckington (M and B). Warwick: castle, and *Ethelfleda's Mound* (? M), and East and West gateways. Wolston: *Brandon Castle*, considerable earthworks and fragmentary masonry.

## WESTMORLAND

**EARLY MEN. Rough Stone Monuments.** Askham: on Moor Divock, circles and *The Copt Stone* (s); on Swarth Fell (s). Bampton: *Druid's Circle* on Knipe Scar (o). *Mayborough*: S. of Penrith, banked (o) containing (s). Shap: *Gunner Keld* (o). **Habitations.** Crosby Ravensworth: *Eweclose British Settlement*. Hugill *British Settlement*. Kendal: *Castlesteads British Settlement*, the Helm. Kentmere: *Millrigg British Settlement*. Kirkby Lonsdale: *Scalford British Settlement*. **Hill-Forts and Camps.** *Arthur's Round Table*: 1 m. S. of Penrith. *Castle Crag Camp*: in Mardale.

**ROMAN. Road.** *High Street*, portions of Roman road NE. of Ambleside. **Milestone.** Middleton: near the Vicarage. **Forts.** Ambleside: *Borrans Field*. Brougham. Natland: *Watercrock*. Tebay: *Low Borrowbridge*.

**SAXON. Crosses.** *St. Michael* Appleby, Burton-in-Kendal, Heversham, Kendal, Kirkby Stephen, Lowther.

**CHURCHES. Furniture.** *St. Michael* Appleby, Beetham (A), Crosby Garrett (A), Kirkby Lonsdale (A), Kirkby Thore, Long Marton (A), Ormside (A), Ravenstonedale.

**MONASTERY.** *Shap Abbey*.

**HOUSES.** Appleby. *Askham Hall*. Bowness. *Brampton Hall*. Brough. *Brougham Hall*. Burneside: *Godmond Hall*. Burton-in-Kendal. *Cliburn Hall*. Dufton. Helton Flecket: tithe barn. *Heversham Hall*. Kendal. Kirkby Lonsdale. Kirkby Stephen. *Kirkby Thore Hall*. *Levens Hall* and *Nether Levens Hall*. *Lowther Castle*: in style of Gothic revival. *Newby Hall*. Orton. Skelsmergh:

*Cunswick Hall. Sockbridge Hall. Temple Sowerby. Troutbeck. Underbarrow: Collin Field. Warcop Hall.*

CASTLES. Appleby: much modernized. *Beetham Hall* (TH). Brough. Brougham. *Burneside Hall* (TH). *Clifton Hall* (TH). Helsington: *Sizergh Castle* (TH). Kendal. *Kentmere Hall* (TH). *Killington Hall* (TH): tower in ruins. Mallerstang: *Pendragon Castle*, little besides ruins of tower. *Middleton Hall* (TH). Milburn: *Howgill Castle* (TH). *Newbiggin Hall* (TH). *Skelsmergh Hall* (TH). *Yanwath Hall* (TH).

## WILTSHIRE

EARLY MEN. **Rough Stone Monuments.** Allington: on Allington Down (o). Amesbury: *Stonehenge* (o) and neighbouring earthworks. Avebury: the great stones of the destroyed circle, and its rampart and ditch; *The Sanctuary* (o) on Overton Hill; *West Kennet Avenue* (s); *The Long Stones* (s); *Penning Stone Circle* (o); *Silbury Hill*, a vast tumulus (τ). Durrington: *Durrington Walls* (compare the earthworks at Avebury) and *Woodhenge* (o). Fyfield (near Marlborough): *The Devil's Den* (τ). West Kennet: long barrow (τ). Nettleton: *Lugbury* (τ). Winterbourne Bassett (o). **Lynchets.** Broad Chalk: Knighton Hill. Charlton Down. Monkton Deverill: Pertwood Down. Durnford: Rox Hill, Salterton Down, and inside *Ogbury Camp*. Fifield Bavant: Fifield Down. Steeple Langford Cowdown. Maddington Down. *Stockton Earthworks.* **Hill-Forts and Camps.** Allington: *Rybury* (N and I). Alton Priors: *Knap Hill Camp* (N and I). Avebury: *Windmill Hill Camp* (N). Little Bedwyn: *Chisbury*. Berwick St. James: *Yarnbury* (N and I). Berwick St. John: *Winkelbury* (N and IC). Bradenstokecum-Clack: *Clack Mount. Bratton Castle.* Cherhill: *Oldbury Castle* (IC). *Chisenbury Camp.* Chitterne St. Mary: *Knook Castle.* Colerne: *Bury Wood Camp.* Devizes: *Oliver's Camp* (IC). Donhead St. Mary: *Castle Rings.* Durnford: *Ogbury.* Everley: *Lidbury Camp* (IA). *Fosbury Camp.* Fovant: *Chiselbury.* Broad Hinton: *Binknoll Castle. Liddington Castle* (IA). Mere: *White Sheet Camp.* Norton Bavant: *Scratchbury.* Oare: *Martinsell Hill Camp.* Ogbourne St. George: *Barbury Castle.* Purton: *Ringsbury.* Ramsbury: *Membury Fort.* Old Sarum: inner earthwork is of Norman date, but outer may originally have been constructed in prehistoric times. Shrewton: *Robin Hood's Ball* (N). Standlynch: *Clearbury*

*Ring*. Tisbury: *Castle Ditches*. Upavon: *Casterley Camp* (1c). Warminster: *Battlesbury* (1c). Winterbourne Dauntsey: *Figsbury Ring* (1A). Wylde: *Bilbury Rings* and *Hanging Langford Camp* (1c). **Museums**. Devizes. *Marlborough College*. Salisbury: *Blackmore Museum*.

**SAXON. Earthwork.** *Wansdyke*: considerable stretches some 2 m. S. of the road from Marlborough to Calne. **Strip Lynchets**. Bishopstone. Bishopstrow: Middle Hill. Calne: Calstone Fields. Bishop's Cannings: Roundway Hill. Enford: at Compton. Hedington: King's Play Hill. Mere. Pewsey Hill. Warminster: *Battlesbury Camp*. **Boundary Stones**. Alton Priors:  $\frac{1}{2}$  m. W. of New Town. **Churches**. Avebury, *St. Lawrence* Bradford-on-Avon, Britford. **Crosses**. Colerne, Knook, Ramsbury, Somerford, and a font at Potterne.

**CHURCHES. Early English.** Potterne. **Perpendicular.** Steeple Ashton, *St. Thomas of Canterbury* Salisbury, Trowbridge. **Furniture.** Aldbourne, Avebury (A), Great Bedwyn, Berwick Bassett, Bishopstone (A), Boyton (A), Bradford-on-Avon parish church (A), Brinkworth, Bromham (A), Calne (A), Bishop's Cannings, Charlton (near Upavon), Chippenham (A), Christian Malford, Cliffe Pypard, Colerne (A), Compton Bassett, Corsham, *St. Sampson* Cricklade (A), Crudwell, *St. John* and *St. Mary* Devizes (both A), Ditcheridge (A), Durnford, Durrington, Edington, Figheldean, West Harnham (A), Highway, Hillmarton, Broad Hinton, Ingleham, Lacock (A), West Lavington, Lydiard Tregoze, Mere, Mildenhall, Minety, Oaksey, Purton, Teffont Evias, Tisbury, Upton Lovel, Wanborough (A), Westwood, Winterbourne Stoke (A).

**MONASTERIES.** Alderbury: remains (frag) of Augustinian Priory. Amesbury: existing church. Ashton Keynes: slight remains incorporated in a farm-house. Bradenstoke-cum-Clack: *Clack Abbey*. Bradford-on-Avon: *Barton Farm Tithe Barn*. Cherhill: tithe barn. Easton: near Pewsey (frag). Edington: existing church and some walls. Kingston St. Michael: remains at *Priory Farm*. Lacock. Malmesbury. Marlborough: remains of St. Margaret's Priory incorporated in cottages. Monkton Farleigh: remains in manor house and outbuildings. Tisbury: tithe barn.

**HOUSES.** Aldbourne. Alderbury: *Longford Castle*. Alton Barnes. Alvediston: *Norrington*. Amesbury. Ashton Keynes. Avebury

*House.* Barford St. Martin: *Hurdcott House.* Bemerton. Biddestone. Bowood: 2 m. SW. of Calne. Boyton: *Manor House.* Bradford-on-Avon. Britford: *Vicarage.* Bromham. Broughton Giffard. Burbage. Calne. All Cannings: *Manor House.* Castle Combe. Great Chalfield: *Manor House.* Bower Chalk. *Charlton Park:* near Malmesbury. Cherhill. Great Cheverell: *Manor House.* Chilton Foliat: *Littlecote* and *Chilton House.* Chippenham. Chisledon. West Cholderton: *Manor House.* Clarendon. Cliffe Pypard. Collingbourne Kingston. Compton Bassett: *Compton House.* Compton Chamberlayne: *Compton Park.* Corsham. Corsley: *Manor House.* Cricklade. Brixton Deverill: *Manor House.* Hill Deverill: *Manor House* and barn. Longbridge Deverill: Crockerton almshouses. Devizes. Ditchridge: *Alcombe.* Downton. Erlestoke. Farley. Fonthill Gifford. Froxfield. Hannington. West Harnham: mill, and house on bridge. Heytesbury. Highworth. Hindon. Hullavington: *Bradfield.* Keevil. Kington Langley. Kington St. Michael. West Kington: *Latimer Farm.* Lacock. Market Lavington. West Lavington. Liddington. Limpley Stoke. *Longleat:* 4 m. WSW. of Warminster. Ludgershall. Lyneham. Maiden Bradley: *Priory Farm* and *New Mead.* Malmesbury. Marlborough. Melksham. Mere. Milston. Newton Tony: *Wilbury House.* Ogbourne St. Andrew. Potterne. Poulshot. Ramsbury. Redlynch: *New House.* Rowde. Salisbury. Seend: *Manor House.* Sevenhampton: *Warneford Place.* Sherston. Standlynch: *Trafalgar House.* Stockton. Stourton. Stratford-sub-Castle: *Vicarage.* Sutton Veny: *Vicarage.* Teffont Evias: *Teffont Manor.* Tisbury: *Place House.* Tockenham: *Manor House.* Trowbridge. *Wardour Castle:* 2½ m. SW. of Tisbury. Warminster. Westbury. Westwood: *Manor House.* Whiteparish: *Manor House* and *Whelpley.* Wilcot. Wilsford. *Wilton House.* Wootton Bassett. South Wraxall: *Manor House.* Yatton Keynell: *Manor House.* *Zeals House.*

CASTLES. Devizes (frag). Ludgershall (frag). Salisbury: High Street gate. Old Sarum. Sherrington (M).

## WORCESTERSHIRE

EARLY MEN. Hill-Forts and Camps. Eldersfield: *Gadbury Bank.* Martley: *Berrow Hill Camp.* Pedmore: *Wychbury Hill Camp.* Stoke Bliss: *Garmsley Camp.* Great Witley: *Woodbury Hill Camp.* Museum. Worcester.



**ROMAN. Camp.** Kempsey: traces around church. **Museum.** Worcester.

**SAXON. Crosses.** Cropthorne, Rous Lench (varia), Tenbury, Wyre Piddle (capitals).

**CHURCHES. Decorated.** Hadzor, Sedgeberrow. **Furniture.** Beoley, Besford, Blockley, Bredon, Broadway, Cotheridge, Dormston (A), Hampton Lovett (A), Hanbury, Himbleton, Holt, Knighton-on-Teme (A), *St. Eadburh* Leigh; South Littleton, Martley, Norton-by-Evesham, Pinvin, Pirton (A), Ribbesford, Ripple, Shelsley Walsh, Strensham, Teddington, Tredington, Wickhamford.

**MONASTERIES.** Bredon: tithe barn. Dudley: scanty remains of priory. Evesham: *Bell Tower*, and various other remains. Halesowen. Middle Littleton: tithe barn. Great Malvern: existing church, and gate-house. Little Malvern: existing church, and probably *Little Malvern Court* was the prior's lodging. Pershore: church of *Holy Cross*.

**HOUSES.** *Abberton Hall.* Acton Beauchamp. Alvechurch. Areley Kings. Upper Arley: *The Grange*, and old portions of *Arley Castle*. Astley. Badsey: *The Seyne House*. Bayton. Belbroughton. Bengeworth. Bewdley. Birlingham. *Birtsmorton Court*. Bishampton. Blackwell. Blockley. Bredicot. Bredon. Bretforton. Broadwas: *The Butts*. Broadway. Bromsgrove. *Broom House*. Broughton Hackett. Chaceley: *New House*. Chaddesley Corbet. Churchill-in-Oswaldslaw. Claines: *Porter's Mill*. Cleeve Prior. Great and Little Comberton. *Coston Hall*. *Cotheridge Court*. Croome D'Abitot: *Croome Court*. *Earl's Croome Court*. Cropthorne. Darlingscott. Dodderhill: *Astwood Farm*, *Purshull House* and *Obden House*. Dormston. Dowles. Eastham. Eckington. Elmley Castle. Elmley Lovett: *Rectory*. Evenlode. Evesham. Feckenham. Fladbury. Grafton Manor: *Manor House*. *Hadzor House*. Hagley: *Harborough Hall*. Hampton Lovett. Hanbury. *Hartlebury Castle*. *Harvington Hall*. Himbleton. *Holt Castle*. *Huddington Court*. Inkberrow. Kempsey: *The Nash*. Kidderminster. Kyre Wyard. Leigh: barn built on crucks. Rous Lench. Middle Littleton: *Manor House*. Longdon: *Eastington Hall*. Martley. Abbot's Morton. Naunton Beauchamp. Norton (near Evesham). King's Norton: buildings near churchyard. Oddingley. Offenham. Ombersley. Peopleton. Pershore. *Pirton Court*. Pinvin. Redmarley D'Abitot.

Ripple. Rock. *Salwarpe Court*. Sedgeberrow. Severn Stoke. Shelsley Kings. Shelsley Walsh. Shrawley. *Spetchley Park*. *Staunton Court*. Stoke Bliss. Stoulton. Stourbridge. Strensham. Old Swinford: hospital. Tardebigge: *Hewell Grange*. Tenbury. Tredington. Upton Snodsbury. Upton Warren: *Badge Court*. Welland. White Ladies Aston. *Wichenford Court*. Upper Wick. Wickhamford: *Manor House*. Little Witley. *Wollaston Hall*. Worcester. Wribbenhall. Wyre Piddle. Yardley: old schoolhouse and *Blakesley Hall*.

CASTLES. Clifton-on-Teme: *Ham Castle* (M and B). Dudley. Holt: incorporated in the later building is a XIV tower. Leigh: *Castle Green* (M and B). Castle Morton (M and B).

## YORKSHIRE—EAST RIDING

EARLY MEN. **Rough Stone Monument**. Rudstone: in churchyard (s), 25½ ft. high. **Earthworks**. *The Danes' Dike*: encloses 5 square miles W. of Flamborough Head; 2½ m. long, up to 18 ft. high, with a ditch on W. side 60 ft. wide; a defensive work of uncertain date. *The Argam Dike*: roughly parallel with *The Danes' Dike* and W. of it, running from Rudston to Reighton; consists of 3 banks and 2 ditches; its purpose is less clear, its date equally uncertain. There are a number of other dikes on the Wolds about which no definite conclusions have been reached; consult the Ordnance Map for their situation. **Museums**. Beverley. Bridlington: *Bayle Gate Museum*. Hornsea: *Morfitt Museum*. Hull: *Mortimer Museum*.

ROMAN. **Coastguard Station**. There was one at Filey, on the Carr Naze, some stones of which can be seen on Filey promenade. **Carved Stone**. Kirkby Underdale: figure (? Mercury) in church. **Museums**. Bridlington: *Bayle Gate Museum*. Hornsea: *Morfitt Museum*. Hull: *Mortimer Museum*.

SAXON. **Churches**. Skipwith, Weaverthorpe, Wharram-le-Street. **Crosses**. Great Driffild, Folkton, North Frodingham, Lissett, Londesborough, Nunburnholme, Roos, Sherburn, Sutton-upon-Derwent. **Dial**. Aldbrough.

CHURCHES. **Early English**. Filey. **Decorated**. Bainton,

Patrington. Perpendicular. Barmston, Paull, Skeffling, Skirlaugh. Furniture. Aughton (A), *St. Mary* Beverley, Brandesburton (A), Bubwith (A), Bugthorpe (A), Burton Agnes, Bishop Burton, Cottingham (A), Great Driffeld (A), Easington (A), Eastrington, Etton (A, though much restored), Filey, Flamborough, Folkton (A), Fridaythorpe (A), Garton-on-the-Wolds (A), Goodmanham (A), Halsham, Harpham, Hayton (A), Hedon (A), East Heslerton (A), Hessle (A), Holme-upon-Spaldingmoor, Huggate (A), *Holy Trinity* Hull, Hunmanby (A), Keyingham (A), Kilham (A), Kirkburn (A), Kirk Ella (A), Langtoft (A), Lockington, Londesborough (A), Market Weighton (A), Middleton-on-the-Wolds (A), Nafferton, North Newbald (A), Ottringham (A), Patrington, Pocklington (A), Preston (A), Riccall (A), Rudstone (A), Skipwith, Sledmere (A, modern), Stillingfleet, Sutton-upon-Derwent (A), Thorpe Bassett, Wawne (A), Weaverthorpe (A), Welwick, Wharram-le-Street (A), Winestead, Wintringham.

MONASTERIES. *Beverley Minster*; and E. of it some walls, doorways, and remnants in cottages of a Dominican friary. *Bridlington Priory*: existing church and *The Bayle Gate*. Hemmingborough: existing church. Howden: existing church. *Kirkham Abbey*. Swine: existing church. Watton: the prior's lodging, now used as a residence.

HOUSES. Barmston: house SW. of church. Beswick: *Manor House*. Beverley. Boynton. Brandesburton. Bridlington. *Burton Agnes Hall*. Bishop Burton. *Burton Constable*: not to be confused with Constable Burton in North Riding. Cottingham. North Dalton. Great Driffeld. Easington. Filey. Flamborough. Ganton. Garton: *Grimston Hall*. Grimstone. Halsham: ancient free school. Hedon. Holme-upon-Spaldingmoor: *Holme Hall*, now a nunnery. Hornsea. Howden: slight remains of *Bishop's Palace*. Huggate. Hull: *Grammar School* and a few old houses. Hunmanby. Kilham. Kirkby Underdale. Lockington. Londesborough. Muston. Ottringham. *Paull Holme*. Pocklington. Settrington. Siggles-thorne: *Wassand Hall*. Welton. Westow. Winestead: *Rectory*. Wintringham.

CASTLES. Beverley: *The North Bar*. Skipsea: *Skipsea Brough* (M and B); the mound is separated from the bailey by a level space formerly covered with water, across which a causeway then led. Wressle: fortified manor house.

## YORKSHIRE—NORTH RIDING

(*The City of York is included here*)

**EARLY MEN. Rough Stone Monuments.** Cloughton (o). Danby: on Danby Rigg (o) and *The Long Stone* (s). Goathland (s). Grosmont: *High Bride Stones* (o), remains of two circles, and *Low Bride Stones* (o and s), remains of field walls. Robin Hood's Bay: *Old Wife's Neck* (s) and other standing stones on Fylingdales Moor. In Sleddale, S. of Guisborough (o). West Tanfield: *Thornborough Circles* (o). **Habitations.** Bainbridge: hut circles and enclosures of dry stone walling (BR). Castleton: at Crown End (BR). Danby: on Danby Rigg (BR). Leyburn: cave dwelling (? N). **Lynchets.** Castleton: at Crown End (BR). Comondale. Danby: on Danby Rigg and in Little Fryup Dale (BR). Kildale. **Hill-Forts and Camps.** Boltby (BR). Eston: on Eston Nab (BR). Gayles, NW. of Richmond: *Castle Steads Camp* (1). There are other earthworks of uncertain purpose, for which see F. and H. W. Elgee, *The Archaeology of Yorkshire*, chap. xii. **Museums.** Malton: *Museum of Field Naturalists' Society*. Middlesborough. Scarborough. Whitby. York: *The Yorkshire Museum*.

**ROMAN. Road.** *Wade's Causeway*, leading N. from *Cawthorn Camps*, can easily be traced, and has been uncovered for  $1\frac{1}{2}$  m. on Wheeldale Moor. This road is sometimes called *Goathland Roman Road*. **Legionary Station.** York: *Multangular Tower*, and Walls (remodelled). **Camps.** Cawthorn: 4 m. N. of Pickering. Rey Cross: 6 m. W. of Bowes. **Forts.** Bainbridge, Bowes, Catterick, Greta Bridge, Malton. **Coastguard Stations.** Lythe: in Goldsborough Pasture. Saltburn: on Huntcliff. Scarborough: on Castle Hill. Villa. Well: pavement preserved in parish church. **Other Remains.** York: in basement of *The Treasurer's House*, and in the parish churches of *St. Cuthbert* and *St. Martin-cum-Gregory*. **Museums.** Malton: *Museum of Field Naturalists' Society* and *Museum of Roman Antiquities*. Middlesborough. Scarborough. Whitby. York: *Yorkshire Museum* and *The Mount School*.

**SAXON. Earthworks.** Mr. and Mrs. Elgee, in the chapter cited above, suggest that the *Scamridge Dikes*, N. of Ebberton, and other similar earthworks, were constructed in Anglian times and were of

service in hunting. **Churches.** Appleton-le-Street, Hackness, Hovingham, Kirkby Hill, Kirkdale, Middleton-by-Pickering, *St. Mary Bishophill Junior* York. **Crosses.** The most interesting are marked (†). Some are only fragmentary. This list includes only those stones preserved in churches or churchyards; there are a few others. Amotherby, Great Ayton, Bedale, Birkby, Bolton-on-Swale, Brompton-in-Allertonshire†, Bulmer, Coverham†, Crambe, Crathorne†, Croft†, Cundall†, Easby, Easington, Ellerburn, Fingall, Forcett, Gilling, Hackness†, Hauxwell†, Helmsley, Hinderwell, Hovingham†, Ingleby Arncliffe, Kildale, Kirby Hill, Kirby-in-Cleveland, Kirby Misperton, Kirkdale†, Kirklevington, Lastingham, Leake, Levisham, Lythe, Old Malton, Masham†, Melsonby, Middleham, Middleton-by-Pickering†, Northallerton, Nunnington, Ormesby, Osmotherly, Oswaldkirk, North Otterington, Pickering, Pickhill, Romaldkirk, Sinnington, Spennithorne†, Stainton, Stanwick, Stonegrave†, Thornaby-on-Tees, Thornton Steward, Thornton Watlass, Topcliffe, Upleatham, Wath, Wensley†, East and West Witton, Wycliffe, Yarm. **Dials.** Old Byland, Great Edstone, Kirkdale.

**CHURCHES.** **Early English.** Melsonby, Skelton. **Decorated.** Thornton-le-Dale. **Perpendicular.** Burneston, Thirsk, Whenby. **Furniture.** Alne, Aysgarth, Great Ayton, Barton-le-Street, Bedale, Bossall (A), Bulmer (A), Burneston, Old Byland (A), Carlton Huthwaite, Catterick, South Cowton, Coxwold, Crambe (A), Crathorne, Crayke, Croft, Easby, Ellerburn, Foston, Gilling (A), Grinton (A), Hackness, Hauxwell (A), Hornby, Huthwaite, Sheriff Hutton, Kilburn, Kirby Hill, Kirby Wiske (A), Kirklington (A), Lastingham (A), Leake, *St. Michael* New Malton (A), Marton-in-the-Forest (A), Middleton-by-Pickering, Northallerton (A), Patrick Brompton (A), Pickering, Pickhill (A), Raskelf, *St. Mary* Richmond, Romaldkirk, West Rounton (A), Rudby, Salton (A), *St. Mary* Scarborough (A), Scawton, Seamer, near Scarborough (A), Stonegrave, West Tanfield, Thirsk, Wath, Well, Wensley, Whenby, Wycliffe; and, at York, the parish churches of *All Saints*, North Street; *St. Denis*; *St. Helen*; *Holy Trinity*, Goodramgate; *St. Martin*, Coney Street; *St. Michael*, Spurriergate; and *St. Michael-le-Belfrey*.

**MONASTERIES.** *Byland Abbey*: 1½ m. NE. of Coxwold. *Coverham*. Easby. *Eggleston Abbey*: 1½ m. SE. of Barnard Castle. *Eller*

*ton Priory* (frag): 1 m. S. of Marrick. Grosmont: only a few carved stones remain. Guisborough. *Jervaulx Abbey*: 2 m. E. of East Witton. Old Malton: existing church. Marrick: remains of nunnery joined to parish church. *Mount Grace Priory*: 2½ m. by road from Osmotherly. Richmond: *Grey Friars' Tower* and slight ruins of *St. Martin's Priory*. *Rievaulx Abbey*: 3 m. NW. of Helmsley. Rosedale Abbey (frag). Whitby. West Witton: foundations of chapel of Templars. Wykeham: slight remains. Yeddingham: slight remains. York: *St. Mary's Abbey*.

HOUSES. Alne: *Youlton Hall*. Askrigg. Aysgarth: *Beare Park*. Great Ayton. Bainbridge. Barningham: *Barton Hall*. Bay Town. Bedale. Brandsby: *Rectory*. Burneston: almshouse. Buttercrambe: *Aldby Park*. Castleton. Constable Burton: *Burton Hall*. Coxwold. Crayke. Danby Wiske: *Rectory*. Downholme: *Walburn Hall*. Easingwold. East Gilling: *Gilling Castle*. Hawes. Hawnby: *Arden Hall*. Helmsley. Hovingham. *Castle Howard*. Huntington. Ingleby Greenhowe: *Manor House*. Kirkby Moorside. Kirkby Ravensworth. Kirkleatham: almshouse. Kirklington. *Leake Hall*. Liverton. New Malton: *Malton Lodge*. *Marske Hall*. Masham. Middleham. Muker. Myton-on-Swale: *Myton Hall*. *Newborough Priory*: ½ m. SE. of Coxwold. Northallerton. Osmotherly. Pickering. Redcar: houses in the High Street. Reeth. Richmond. Romaldkirk. Runswick Bay. Scarborough. Scawton. *Scruton Hall*. Over Silton. Slingsby. Sowerby. Spennithorne. Staithes. Stillington. Stokesley. West Tanfield: gate-house of manor house. Terrington. Great Thirkleby. Thirsk. Thornton-le-Dale. Thornton-le-Street. Thornton Steward: *Danby Hall*. Topcliffe. Wath: *Norton Conyers*. Well: hospital. Wensley. Whitby. Yarm. York: *The Treasurer's House*, *The Merchants' Hall*, *The King's Manor*, *St. William's College*, and many other buildings of great interest.

CASTLES. Askrigg: *Nappa Hall* (TH). West Ayton: *Ayton Castle* (TH). Barningham: *Scargill Castle*. *Bolton Castle*: 1 m. W. of Redmire. Bowes. Buttercrambe: in *Aldby Park* (M and B). Castleton (M). Cotherstone (frag). South Cowton: *Cowton Castle* (TH). Cropton (M and B). Danby-in-Cleveland: *Danby Castle*. East Gilling: portion of *Gilling Castle* (TH). Helmsley. Sheriff Hutton: castle, and remains of an earlier (M and B). Kildale (M). Killerby: near Catterick (M and B). Kilton Thorpe: *Kilton Castle*. Kirby Sigston: *Sigston Castle*, earthworks. Kirkby Moorside: the merest

traces of two castles. Castle Levington (M). Middleham: castle and *William's Hill* (M and B). Mulgrave Castle: 1½ m. W. of Sandsend. Northallerton: traces of two (M and B). Osmotherly: *Harsley Castle* (TH). Pickering. Ravensworth: rather scanty ruins. Richmond: castle, and *Bargate* and another postern. Rokeby: *Mortham Tower* (TH). Scarborough. Skelton: earthworks of XI fortified village. Snape. Thirsk: near the Cod Beck (M and B). Topcliffe: *Maiden Bower* (M and B). Upsall (frag). Whorlton: gate-house, fragments of keep, and earthworks of former (M and B) and adjoining fortified village. York: the city walls, gates and posterns; *Baile Hill* (M); and *Clifford's Tower*, built on (M).

## YORKSHIRE—WEST RIDING

**EARLY MEN. Rough Stone Monuments.** Bordley, near Grassington (o). Boroughbridge: *The Devil's Arrows* (s). Bradfield: near Ewden Beck (o). Burley-in-Wharfedale: on Burley Moor, *Grubstones* (o) and *The Twelve Apostles* (o). Deepdale, near Buckden (o). Ilkley: on Ilkley Moor, cup and ring marked rocks at Green Crag, Pancake Rock, Grainings Head, Badger Stone, Werry Hill, Hanging Stones, Intake Heads, near Barmishaw Well, and west of Woodhouse Crag; there are others opposite the church at Ilkley, and casts in Leeds Museum; on Addingham High Moor there is a rock marked with a swastika, considered to be an emblem of fertility. **Habitations.** There are caves which have yielded traces of human habitation at Kilnsey: *Dowler Bottom Cave*. Settle: *Victoria Cave*. Thorpe, near Grassington: *Elbolton Cave*. Hut circles and enclosures are to be seen at Arncliffe, Conistone, Deepdale, Grassington, Kettlewell and Kilnsey, all in Upper Wharfedale, and at Malham, close by, on the upper Aire. With most of these, Celtic lynchets are associated. On Ingleborough are the remains of a fortified village, covering 15 acres. The cairn is modern—constructed with stones taken from the walls. **Hill-Forts and Camps.** Almondbury: *Castle Hill* (1). Ingleton: *Yarlsberg Camp*. South Kirby: on Brierley Common (1). Nesfield: *Castleberg Camp* (BR). Sheffield: *Wincobank Camp* (IB). **Museums.** Bradford: *Cartwright Memorial Hall*. Doncaster. Giggleswick: *School Museum*. Halifax: *Bankfield Museum*. Huddersfield: *Tolson Memorial Museum*; I would commend all the publications of this museum on the history of the locality, and especially *Climate*,

*Vegetation and Man in the Huddersfield District*, by T. W. Woodhead, together with the models which it illustrates. Keighley. Leeds: *City Art Gallery* and *City Museum*. Ripon. Rotherham: *Clifton Park Museum*. Sheffield: *Weston Park Museum*. Skipton: *Craven Museum*.

**ROMAN. Roads.** *The Roman Ridge* at Greasborough and in the SE. portion of the Park at Wentworth. Another road, which led from Ribchester to Skipton, is to be seen at Barnoldswick. For the road on Blackstone Edge, see Lancashire. **Camps.** Hartshead: in Kirklees Park. Meltham. **Forts.** Elslack: *Burwens Castle*. Ilkley: partly obliterated by parish church and other buildings. Newton Kyme: *Long Brough*. Long Preston: two forts, one within the other, E. of the churchyard. Saddleworth: *Castle Shaw*, two forts, one within the other. Scamonden: *Slack*. **Villa.** North Stainley: *Castle Dikes*. **Town.** Aldborough: the ancient *Isurium*. Besides the walls, there is part of a small basilica, and seven tessellated pavements are to be seen in houses and gardens in the village. **Museums.** Aldborough: *Museum Isurianum*. Doncaster, Huddersfield, Keighley, Ripon, Rotherham, Skipton—all these as for Early Men. Leeds: *City Museum*.

**SAXON. Strip Lynchets.** Arncliffe, Buckden, Conistone, Grasington, Kettlewell, Linton, Litton, Starbolton—all in Upper Wharfedale; Airton and Malham on the upper Aire. **Churches.** Bardsey, Kirk Hammerton, Laughton-en-le-Morthen, Ledsham, Monk Fryston, Ripon Cathedral crypt. **Crosses.** This list includes only those in churches or churchyards. The most important are marked (†). Barwick-in-Elmete, Bilton Ainsty†, Bingley†, Birstall, Bradford, Burnsall, Cawthorne†, Collingham†, Crofton, Dewsbury†, Ecclesfield†, Gargrave, Guiseley, High Hoyland, Ilkley†, Kildwick, Kippax, Kirkburton, Kirkby Wharfe, Kirkheaton, Leeds†, Mexborough, Middlesmoor†, Mirfield, Otley†, Penistone, Rastrick†, Ripon Cathedral, Saxton, Spofforth, Sprotborough, Staveley, Tadcaster, Thornhill†, Thorparch, Wighill.

**CHURCHES. Norman.** Adel, Birkin. **Decorated.** Acaster Malbis. **Perpendicular.** Bolton Percy, Cowthorpe, Crofton, Darton, Giggleswick, Kirkby Malham, Rotherham, Silkstone. **Furniture.** Acaster Malbis, Adlingfleet, Aldborough, Allerton Mauleverer, Almondbury, Arksey, Askham Bryan (A), Austerfield



(A), Bardsey, Barnborough, Barnby Dun, Barnoldswick, Batley, Bilton Ainsty, Birkin, Birstall, Bolton-by-Bowland, Bolton Percy, Bradfield, Bramhope, Brayton (A), Burgh Wallis, Campsall, Conisborough (A), Darfield, Darrington, Darton, Dent, Dewsbury, Drax, Ecclesfield, Edlington, Elland, Emley, Church Fenton (A), Fishlake, Giggleswick, Gisburne, Goldsborough, Guiseley (A), Halifax, Hampsthwaite, Harewood, Hatfield, Hooton Pagnell (A), Hubberholme, Ilkley, Kildwick, Kirkburton, Kirkby Malham, Kirkheaton, Kirk Sandall, Knaresborough, *St. Robert's Chapel* (hermitage) Knaresborough, Laughton-en-le-Morthen, Ledsham, *St. John* Leeds, Loversal, Marr, High Melton, Methley, Midhopestones, Great Mitton, Newton Kyme (A), Otley, Owston (A), Chapel of hospital of *St. Mary Magdalene* Ripon, Rotherham, Ryther, Sandal Magna, Sherburn-in-Elmete (A), Silkstone, Skipton, Slaidburn, Snaith (A), Sprotborough, Tadcaster (A), Thornhill, Thorpe Salvin, Tickhill, Todwick, Tong, Waddington, Wadworth, Walton (A), Wath-upon-Deane, *old church* Wentworth, Weston, Wighill, Woodkirk, Worsborough, Wragby.

MONASTERIES. Bilton Ainsty: *Syningthwaite Nunnery*, slight remains in farm-house. *Bolton Priory*: by R. Wharfe, E. of Skipton. *Fountains Abbey*: SW. of Ripon. *Healaugh Priory*: slight remains at the Manor Farm. *Kirklees Priory*: SW. of Hartshead; gate-house, and some other slight remains. *Kirkstall Abbey*: near Leeds. Monk Bretton: slight but interesting ruins of Cluniac priory. Nun Monkton: existing church. *Roche Abbey*: 2 m. SE. of Maltby. *Sawley Abbey*: 4 m. NE. of Clitheroe, Lancashire; interesting remains, from which much of plan can be traced. *Selby Abbey*: existing church. Templehurst: remains (frag) of house of Templars.

HOUSES. Adwick-upon-Deane. Almondbury. Arksey. Aston. Badsworth. *Barden Tower*: 3½ m. NW. of *Bolton Abbey*. Barnby Dun. Barwick-in-Elmete: ruins of *Kiddal Hall*. Birstall: *Oakwell*. Bishopthorpe: ancient portions of *Archbishop's Palace*. Bolton-by-Bowland. Boroughbridge. Bradfield. Bramham. Burgh Wallis. Burnsall. Campsall. Carleton-in-Craven. Cawood. Cawthorne. Collingham. Conistone. Darrington. Dent. Emley. Felkirk: schoolhouse N. of churchyard. Fishlake. *Fountains Hall*: near *Fountains Abbey*. Giggleswick. Gisburne. Guiseley: *Rectory*. Halifax: *The Cloth Hall*. *Harewood House*. Haworth. *Heath Hall*: 1½ m. E. of Wakefield. Heptonstall. Hooton Pagnell. Hooton

Roberts. High Hoyland. Kettlewell. Kirkburton. Knaresborough. Leathley. *Markenfield Hall*:  $1\frac{1}{2}$  m. SE. of *Fountains Abbey*. Pannal. Pateley Bridge. Penistone. Pontefract. Nether Poppleton. *Ribstone Hall*. *Ripley Castle*. Ripon. Rossington. Sedbergh: old school-house. Settle. Sheffield: ruins of *Manor House*. Slaidburn: *Grammar School*. Snaith. Spofforth. *Studley Royal*:  $1\frac{1}{4}$  m. WSW. of Ripon. Tadcaster. *Temple Newsam*: SE. of Leeds. Thorne. Thornton-in-Craven. Thorpe Salvin. Tickhill. *Waddington Hall*. *Wentworth House*. Wetherby. Whixley: hospital W. of the church. *Woodsome Hall*:  $1\frac{1}{4}$  m. NW. of Kirkburton. Woolley. Worsborough. Wragby: *Sharlston Old Hall*.

CASTLES. Barwick-in-Elmete: W. of the village (? M and B). Burton-in-Lonsdale (? M). Conisborough. Harewood. Knaresborough. Laughton-en-le-Morthen (M). Mirfield (M). Pontefract. Ripon: *Ailcy Hill* (? M). Sandal Magna: earthworks and slight masonry. Skipton: rather a fortified manor house than a castle. Spofforth: remains of fortified manor house. Tickhill.

## WALES

## NOTES.

- (a) A number of the Hill-Forts and Camps listed under the heading *Early Men* may prove on excavation to be of Roman date (cf. Margam, Glamorganshire). Some of those on promontories may have been constructed as late as the time of the Viking raids.
- (b) Of churches marked (A), a few are included as examples of primitive simplicity.
- (c) The accents are omitted from place-names.

## ANGLESEY

**EARLY MEN. Rough Stone Monuments.** Aberffraw: *Din Dryfol* (r). Bodedern: *Presaddfed Dolmens* (r). Holyhead: *Trefignath Dolmen* (r); at Ty Mawr Farm (s). Llandaniel Fab: *Bryn Celli Ddu* (r). Llanddyfnan (s). Llanedwen: *Plas Newydd* (2 r). Llanfealog: *Ty Newydd* (r). Llanfair Mathafarn Eithaf: *Pant y Saer Dolmen* (r). Llanfechell (s). Llangristiolus: *Henblas Dolmen* (r). Llangwyfan: *Barclodiad y Gawres* (r). Llanidan: *Bodowyr Dolmen* (r) and *Bryngwyn Standing Stones* (s). Llansadwrn: *Hen Ddrefor* (r). Llantrisant: *Tregwehelydd Standing Stone* (s). Penrhos Lligwy: *Lligwy Dolmen* (r). **Habitations.** Holyhead: *Cytiau'r Gwyddelod*, hut circles on Holyhead Mountain. Llanynghenedl: *Ynys Leurad Cytiau'r Gwyddelod*, hut circles. Penrhos Lligwy: *Din Lligwy*, ancient village. **Hill-Forts and Camps.** Holyhead: *Caer y Twr*. Llanfihangel Tyn Sylwy: *Dinas Sylwy Camp*. Llanidan: *Castell Bryngwyn* and *Caer Leb*. Llanrhwydrys: *Castell Crwn*.

**ROMAN. Fort.** Holyhead: *Caer Gybi*. **Wall.** Holyhead: wall surrounding churchyard of St. Cybi's church.

**SAXON. Crosses.** Llanfair Mathafarn Eithaf, Llanfihangel Tre'r Beirdd, Penmon. **Inscribed Stones.** Llanbabo, Llangadwaladr, Llangefni, Llangwylog. **Church.** Puffin Island (Tower ? Saxon).

**CHURCH. Furniture.** Beaumaris.

**MONASTERY.** Penmon: existing church, remains of refectory, and dovecot.

HOUSES. Beaumaris: *Baron Hall*. Pengwern Hall:  $\frac{1}{2}$  m. from Plas Newydd. Llangefni: *Tregarnedd House*.

CASTLES. Beaumaris. Lleiniog: *Castell Lleiniog*.

## BRECKNOCKSHIRE

EARLY MEN. **Rough Stone Monuments.** Aberyscir(s). Crickhowel: *Gwernvale Cromlech* (r). Devynock: *Cerrig Duon* (o). Llanhamlach: *Ty Illtyd* (r, fallen). Talgarth: *Cwmfforest Long Barrow*, *Ffostyll Barrows*, *Mynydd Troed Long Barrow*, and *Ty Isaf Long Barrow* (all r). Trecastle: by the side of mountain track, running between Trecastle Beacon and Fan Gihirych to Ystradgynlais (o). **Hill-Forts and Camps.** Brecon: *The Crug*. Devynock: *Cefn y Gaer*.

ROMAN. **Camp.** Trecastle: *Y Pigwn*, on the summit of Trecastle Mountain, partly in Carmarthenshire. **Fort.** Aberyscir: *Y Gaer*. **Stone.** Llansantffraid: *Victorinus Stone* (? Roman).

SAXON. **Crosses.** Builth, Llandefaelog Fach. **Inscribed Stones.** Cwmdu, Devynock, Llangamarch, Llangorse, Llanhamlach, Trallong.

CHURCHES. **Furniture.** Bronllys, Llanddew (A), Patrishow.

MONASTERY. Brecon: remains of Dominican Friary.

HOUSES. Abergwessin. Brecon. Builth. Bwlch. Crickhowel. Hay. Llanddew: remains of *Bishop's Palace* in Vicarage garden. Llangenau.

CASTLES. Brecon: castle and fragments of town walls. Bronllys. *Builth Castle*: earthworks only, and *Caer Beris* (M). Cathedine: *Blaen Llynfi*, earthworks and stone remains (frag). Crickhowel. Devynock (frag). Dinas (frag). Hay: castle and fragmentary remains of town walls. Trecastle (M and B). Tretower: castle and remains of manor house.

## CAERNARVONSHIRE

EARLY MEN. **Rough Stone Monuments.** Caerhun: *Porth Llwyd* (r) and *Ro Wen* (r). Clynnog Fawr: *Bachwen* (r). Criccieth: *Ystum Cegid* (r) and *Rhos y Llan* (r). Llandudno Dolmen (r). Llanystumdwy: *Cefn Isaf Dolmen* (r) and *Ystum Cegid* (r). Penllech:

*Cefn Amwlch Dolmen* (T). Penmaenmawr: *Druid's Circle* (O). Rhiw (T). **Habitations.** Beddgelert: *Cwm Dyli* ancient village. Capel Curig: *Bryn y Gefeiliau* ancient village. Llanaelhaiarn: ancient village N. of Llain Llan. Llanddeiniolen: *Glascoed* ancient village. Llanwnda: *Dinas y Prif*, hut circles. Penmaenmawr: stone axe factory above Graig Lwyd farm; *Braich y Ddinas*, hut circles, possibly of Roman period. **Hill-Forts and Camps.** Aber: *Maes y Gaer*. Aberdaron: *Castell Odo*. Beddgelert: *Pen y Gaer* and *Dinas Emrys*. Bodfean Camp. Conway: *Castell Caer Lleion*. Dolbenmaen: *Craig y Tyddyn* and *Castell Caerau*. Llanaelhaiarn: *Pen y Gaer*. Llanbedr y Cennin: *Pen y Gaer*. Llanbedrog: *Nant y Castell*. Llanddeiniolen: *Pen Isa'r Waen* and *Dinas Dinorwic*. Llandudno: *Pen y Dinas*. Llandwrog: *Dinas Dinlle*. Llanfairfechan: *Dinas Camp*. Llanfair Is Gaer: *Dinas Camp*. Llanybi: *Carn Pentyrch Camp*. Llanllechid: *Rhiw Goch Camp*. Llanllyfni: *Craig y Dinas*. Llanwnda: *Dinas y Prif*. Maenan: *Caer Oleu*. Ynyscynhaiarn: *Moel y Gest Camp*.

ROMAN. **Camps and Forts.** Caerhun. Caernarvon: *Segontium*. Caersws. Capel Curig: *Bryn y Gefeiliau*. Llanaelhaiarn: *Tre'r Ceiri*, hill-fort with hut circles. **Dwellings.** Rhostryfan: various Romano-British hutments. **Milestone.** Llanrug.

SAXON. **Inscribed Stones.** Dolbenmaen, Llanfaglan.

CHURCHES. **Perpendicular.** Clynnog Fawr. **Furniture.** Clynnog Fawr, Conway, Llanengan.

MONASTERY. Bardsey Island: remains of *St. Mary's Abbey*.

HOUSES. Bangor. Caernarvon. Conway. Criccieth. Dolwyddelan. *Gloddaeth*: SE. of Llandudno. Llanengan.

CASTLES. Aber: *Castle Mound* (M). Caernarvon: castle and town walls. Conway: castle and town walls. Criccieth. Deganwy (frag). Dolbadarn (frag). Dolbenmaen: *Tomen* (M). Dolwyddelan.

## CARDIGANSHIRE

EARLY MEN. **Rough Stone Monuments.** Tal y Bont: remains of 2 stone circles. Ysptyty Cynfyn: remains of stone circle. **Hill-Forts and Camps.** Aberystwyth: *Pen Dinas Camp*. Bow Street: *Hen Gaer*. Dyffryn Castell: *Llys Arthur*. Lampeter: *Castell Allt*

*Goch, Castell Coytre, and Tas Eithin Camp.* Llanilar: *Pen y Castell*. Penbryn: *Castell Nadolig*.

**SAXON. Cross.** Llanbadarn Fawr. **Inscribed Stones.** Llanarth, Llandewi Aberarth, Llandewi Brefi, Llandyssul, Llanwenog, Llanwnws, Silian.

**CHURCH. Furniture.** Llanbadarn Fawr (A).

**MONASTERY.** *Strata Florida Abbey*.

**HOUSES.** Bow Street: *Gogerddan*. Cardigan. Lampeter: *Peterwell House*.

**CASTLES.** Aberystwyth. Cardigan: 2 drum towers. Lampeter: *Castle Mound*, in College grounds (M). Llanfihangel Gneu'r Glyn: *Castell Gwallter* (M). Trefilian: *Castell* (M).

## CARMARTHENSHIRE

**EARLY MEN. Rough Stone Monuments.** Abergwili (s). Cilymaenllwyd: *Coynant* (s). Cynwyl Elved: *Garreg Hir* (s). Kidwelly: in Cae Garreg Fawr (s). Llanboidy: *Gwal y Viliast* (r). Llandeilo Fawr Rural: *Cefn Cethin Maen Llwyd* (s, marked with bow and arrow). Llandebie: *Y Naw Carreg* (remains of o). Llandyfaelog: *Llechdwnny* (r, fallen). Llangedy: *Brynryd Stone* (s). Llangyndeyrn: *Bwrdd Arthur* (remains of r) and 2 s. Llangynog: *Twic y Viliast* (r, partly destroyed). Llanon: *Bryn Maen pillar stone* (s). Llansadwrn: *Abermarlais Stone* (s). Llanstephan: *Fron Ucha* (r, fallen). Llanybyther: *Mynydd Llanybyther* (s). Llanycrwys: *Hirvaen Gwyddog* (s). Newchurch: *Garn Fawr* (earthen o). **Habitation.** Llansadwrn: *Coygan Cave*. **Hill-Forts and Camps.** Abergwili: *Croes Arthur* and *Parc y Gaer*. Burry Port Urban: *Y Gaer*. Eglwys Cymyn: *Castell Pen y Coed*. Laugharne: *Castle Lloyd Camp*. Llandeilo Fawr Rural: *Maes y Castell*. Llanegwad: *Allt y Ferin*. Llanfihangel ar Arth: *Craig Gwrtheyrn*. Llangadog: *Carn Goch*. Llangan East: *Hafod Camp*. Llangathen: *Grongaer*. Llanllwni: *Castell Pyr*. Llanybyther: *Pen y Gaer*. Merthyr: *Castell y Gaer*. Newchurch: *Caerau Clungwyn*. Penboyr: *Caer Blaen Minog*. Pendine: *Gilman Camp*.

**ROMAN. Fort.** Llandovery: very slight remains to the N. of town. **Earthwork.** Laugharne: *Cwmbrwyn*. **Museum.** Carmarthen: *Museum of the Antiquarian Society*.

**SAXON. Crosses.** Laugharne, Llandeilo Fawr, Llanfihangel Aberbythych. **Inscribed Stones.** Cenarth, Cynwyl Cao, Eglwys Cymyn, Egremont, Henllan Amgoed, St. Ishmaels, Llanarthney (at *Middleton Hall*), Llanboidy, Llandawke, Llanfallteg East, Llanfihangel Aberbythych, Llanfihangel ar Arth, Merthyr, Newchurch (at *Traws Mawr*).

**CHURCHES. Furniture.** Llandeilo Abercowin, Llangathen, Myddvai, Pembre (A).

**MONASTERIES.** Kidwelly: *St. Mary's Priory Church*. Llangan East: *Whitland Abbey. Talley Abbey*.

**HOUSES.** Carmarthen: *Guildhall*. Kidwelly: *The Prior's House*. Laugharne: *Town Hall*. Llanarthney: *Rhyderwen*. Llandeibie: *Derwydd* and *Y Plas*. Llandyfaelog: *Ystrad Fawr*. Llanedy: *Cwrt y Ceidrim*. Llanelly House. Llanfihangel Rhos y Corn: *Esgair Fynwent Cottage*. Pembre: *Y Cwrt*.

**CASTLES.** Ammanford Urban: *Old Castle* (M). Carmarthen: ancient portions of *Castle*, and *The Bulwarks* (fortifications of XVII, probably constructed during the Civil War). St. Clears: *Banc y Beili* (M and B). Kidwelly. Laugharne. Llanboidy: *Castell Mawr* (M and B). Llanddowror: *Castell* (M and B). Llandeilo Fawr Rural: *Carreg Cennen Castle*. Llandovery. Llandyfeisant: *Dynevor Castle* (near Llandeilo). Llanedy: *Ystum Enlli* (M). Llanegwad: *Allt y Ferin* (M and B) and *Pen y Cnap* (M). Llanfihangel Abercowin: *Castell Aber Tav* (M and B). Llanfihangel ar Arth: *Castell Pencader* (M and B), *Castell Gwyddgrug* (M and B), *Castell Llwyn Bedw* (M), and *Castell Du* (M). Llangadog: *Castell Meurig* (M and B). Llangathen: *Dryslwyn Castle*. Llangeler: *Castell* (M). Llangyndeayrn: *Banc y Bettws* (M) and *Castell y Domen* (M). Llanllwmi Mount (M) and *Castell Nonni* (M). Llanstephan. Llanwinio: *Castell Bach* (M). Newcastle Emlyn. Newchurch: *Garn Fawr* (M). Penboyr: *Tomen Seba* (M) and *Tomen Llawddog* (M and B). Pembre: *Tumpath* (M). Talley: *Twrla Mound* (M).

## DENBIGHSHIRE

**EARLY MEN. Rough Stone Monuments.** Cefn (St. Asaph): *Tyddyn Bleiddyn* (T). Clocaenog: on the Moor (2 O). Gyffylliog: *The Queen's Court House* (O). Llangollen Rural: on Eglwys rocks (O). Llanrhaiadr ym Mochnant (2 T, ruinous), and *Maes Moch-*

*nant* (s). Llanrwst: *Capel Garmon Carnedd* (r). Llansantffraid Glan Conwy: *The Altar of Moloch* (r). Pentrefoelas: *Cefn y Gadfa* (c, s). **Habitations.** Cefn (St. Asaph): *Cefn Cave* and *Bont Newydd Cave*. Clocaenog: *Cefn Banog* ancient village. Llanarmon yn Ial: *Rhos Ddigre Caves*. Pentrefoelas: hut-circles on Moel Seisiog, near ruined cairn. **Hill-Forts and Camps.** Abergele Rural: *Castell Cawr* and *Pen y Corddin*. Cefn (St. Asaph): *Bedd y Cawr*. Efenechtyd: *Pen y Gaer*. St. George: *Dinorben*. Llai Camp. Llanarmon Dyffryn Ceiriog. Llanbedr Dyffryn Clwyd: *Moel Fenlli* and *Moel y Gaer*. Llanfair Dyffryn Clwyd Rural: *Craig Adwy Wynt*. Llanfihangel Glyn Myfyr: *Caer Caradog* and *Caer Ddunod*. Llanrhaiadr ym Mochnant: *Llwyn Bryn Dinas*. Llanynys Rural: *y Garth*. Ruabon: *y Gardden*.

**ROMAN. Villages.** Remains at Holt. The hill-fort of *Dinorben* at St. George was also occupied during the Roman period.

**SAXON. Earthwork.** *Offa's Dyke* is to be seen at Brymbo, Chirk, Esclusham Below, Orseddwen, and Ruabon. **Crosses.** Llanrhaiadr ym Mochnant. Llantysilio yn Ial: *Pillar of Eliseg*. **Inscribed Stones.** Llanfwrog Rural: near *Pool Park Hall*. Pentrefoelas.

**CHURCHES. Perpendicular.** Llanellian yn Rhos, Llanfair Dyffryn Clwyd Rural, Llan Nefydd, Wrexham. **Furniture.** Clocaenog, Derwen, Efenechtyd, Gresford, Llandyrnog, Llanelidan, Llanrhaiadr yn Cinmerch Rural, Llanrwst, Llanynys Rural, Ruabon.

**MONASTERIES.** Denbigh: ruins of Carmelite Friary near castle. Llantysilio yn Ial: *Valle Crucis Abbey*.

**HOUSES.** Allington: *Trevalun Hall*. Brymbo Hall. Cefn (St. Asaph): *Plas Newydd*. Denbigh: *Bryn y Parc*, and old cockpit in premises of *Hawk and Buckle Inn*. *Erddig Hall*. Henllan: *Old Foxhall* and *New Foxhall*. Llanfair Dyffryn Clwyd Rural: *Llysfass*. Llangadwaladr: *Hafod Adam*. *Llangedwyn Hall*. Llangollen Rural: *Trevor Hall*. Llangollen Urban: *Pengwern House*. Llanrwst. Llan-silin. Ruthin. Wrexham: *Old Town Hall*.

**CASTLES.** *Chirk Castle* and *Castell y Waun* (M). Denbigh: castle and town walls. *Erddig* (M and B). Holt: XIII, on an isolated rock. Llanarmon yn Ial: *Tomen y Faerdre* (M) and *Tomen y Rhodwydd* (M and B). Llangernyw: *Hendre Isaf* (M). Llangollen: *Castell Dinas*



*Bran*. Llanrhaiadr yn Cinmerch Urban: *Llys Gwenllian* (M and B). Llanrhaiadr ym Mochnant: *Tomen y Maerdy* (M and B). Llansilin: *Sycharth Castle* (M and B). Pentrefoelas (M). Ruthin.

## FLINTSHIRE

**EARLY MEN. Rough Stone Monuments.** Cilcain: in Penbedw Park (part of o). Ysceifiog (o). **Habitations.** Newmarket: *Gop Bone Cave*. Tremeirchion: *Ffynnon Beuno Cave* and *Cae Gwyn Cave*. **Hill-Forts and Camps.** Bodfari: *Moel y Gaer*. Cwm: *Moel Hiraddug* (IB). Nannerch: *Pen y Cloddiau* and *Moel Arthur*. Northop: *Moel y Gaer*, Rhosesmor.

**SAXON. Earthwork.** *Offa's Dyke* is to be seen at Hope and Tryddyn. **Crosses.** Diserth. Whitford: *Maen Achwyfan*. **Inscribed Stone.** Ysceifiog: at *Downing Hall*.

**CHURCHES. Perpendicular.** Holywell Urban: *St. Winifred's Chapel*. **Furniture.** Caerwys, Cilcain, Northop, Tremeirchion.

**MONASTERIES.** Holywell Rural: *Basingwerk Abbey*. Rhuddlan: remains of Dominican Friary at farm called *Plas Newydd*.

**HOUSES.** *Bettisfield Old Hall*. Bodelwyddan: *Y Faenol Fawr* and *Y Faenol Fach*. Diserth: remains of *Siambur Wen*. *Halghton Hall*. Hope: *Fferm*. Llanfynydd: *Bryn Iorcyn*. Meliden: *Llys Farm*. Mold Rural: *Pentrehobyn Hall*. Rhuddlan. Rhyl: *Ty'n Rhyl*. Whitford. *Willington Cross*. Worthenbury: *Broughton Hall*, *Emral Hall*, *Mulsford Hall*. Ysceifiog: *Gledlom*.

**CASTLES.** Diserth. Flint. *Hawarden Castle* and *Ewloe Castle*. Hope: *Caergwrle Castle*. Marford and Hoseley: *The Rofft* (M and B). Mold Rural: *Tyddyn Mount*, Bistre (M and B). Mold Urban: *The Bailey Hill* (M and B). Northop: *Llys Edwin* (M and B). Presatyn. *Rhuddlan Castle* and *The Twthill*. Tybroughton: *Mount Cop* (M). Whitford: *Coed Allt y Tywod* (M).

## GLAMORGANSHIRE

**EARLY MEN. Rough Stone Monuments.** Gelligaer: on Cefn Gelligaer (s). Llangiwig: on slopes of Mynydd Carn Llecharth (o and c). Llanrhidian: *Arthur's Stone* (T). *St. Lythan Cromlech* (T). Marcross: *Hen Eglwys* (T, fallen). Margam: at Water Street (s). Neath: on Mynydd Drummau (o, c, and s). *St. Nicholas Crom-*

*lech* (T). Pentyrch: *Cae yr Arfau* (T). Rhossili: *Sweyne's Houses* (T). **Habitations.** In the cliffs of the south coast of the Gower are a number of caves which have yielded traces of human habitation, often as early as the Old Stone Age. The most famous is *Goat's Hole* at Paviland; others are *Bacon Hole*, *Bosco's Den*, *Cat's Hole*, *Crow Hole*, *Devil's Hole*, *Long Hole*, *Minchin Hole*, *Raven's Cliff Cave*, and *Spritsail Tor Cave*. **Hill-Forts and Camps.** Bishopston: *Old Castle* and *Pwlldu Head Camp*. Bonvilston: *Y Gaer*. Briton Ferry: *Mynydd y Gaer Lower Camp*. *Caerau Camp*. Cheriton: *Nottal Tor Camp*. Gilestone: *Summerhouse Camp*. Llangennith: 3 camps on Harding Down and 1 on Burry Holm. *Llanmadoc Camp*. Llanrhidian: *Cil Ifor*. Llantrisant: *The Caerau*. Llantwit Major: *Castle Ditches*. Porthkerry: *The Bulwarks*. **Museum.** Cardiff: *National Museum of Wales*.

**ROMAN. Camp.** Caerau: southern rampart clearly marked. **Forts.** Cardiff. Gelligaer. Margam: on Margam Mountain, *Caer Cwm Philip*, *Caer Blaen y Cwm*, and *Y Bwlwarcau*, 'sub-Roman' hill-forts, occupied at end of Roman period. Merthyr Tydfil: *Pen y Darren House*, site of Roman fort. **Villas.** Ely (site only). Llantwit Major: in Caer Mead (site only). **Museum.** Cardiff: *National Museum of Wales*.

**SAXON. Crosses.** Coychurch, Llandaff, Llandough (near Penarth), Llangan, Llangyfelach, Llanmadoc, Llantwit Major (several), Margam (many), Merthyr Mawr (several). **Inscribed Stones.** Capel Llaniltern, Kenfig, Llanmadoc, Margam, Merthyr Tydfil, Newton Nottage.

**CHURCHES. Furniture.** Cheriton (A), Coity (A), Cowbridge (A), Coychurch (A), St. Donats, Gilestone, St. Hilary, Llancarfan, Llantrythid.

**MONASTERIES.** Ewenny: *Priory Church* and wall enclosing monastic precincts. Llantwit Major: existing church, gate-house, dovecot, and other remains. Margam: *Abbey Church*, chapter-house and other remains. Neath.

**HOUSES.** Bishopston. Bridgend. Caerphilly: *Geneu'r Glyn*. Capel Llanettern: *Castell y Mynach*. Cowbridge. *St. Fagans Castle*. Flemingston: *Old Manor House*. Gilestone *Manor*. St. Hilary: *Beaupré Castle*. Horton. Kenfig: *Old Guildhall*. Llanbleddian. Llancaiach: *Manor House*. Llandaff: ruins of *Bishop's*

*Palace.* Llanmadoc. *Llanmihangel Place.* *Llansannor Court.* Llantrisant. Llantwit Major. Llysworney: *Nash Manor House.* Michaelston y Vedw: *Cefn Mably.* Newton Nottage: *Nottage Court.* Pont Nedd Fechan. Porthcawl: *Sker House.* Wenvoe.

**CASTLES.** St. Athan: *East Orchard Castle* (frag). Boverton: ruins of fortified manor-house. Bridgend: *New Castle.* St. Brides Major: *Ogmore Castle.* Caerphilly. Cardiff. Coity. Cowbridge: town gateway. Dinas Powys. St. Donats. Gelligaer: *Twyn Castell* (M). Kenfig (frag). Llanbleddian: *St. Quentin's Castle*, gateway and adjoining walls. Llangynwyd (frag). Llanmadoc: *Malefant Castle* (quite frag). Llanrhidian: *Weobley Castle.* Llantrisant (frag). Loughor. Merthyr Mawr: *Candleston Castle*, remains of fortified manor-house. Merthyr Tydfil: *Morlais Castle* (frag). Neath (frag). Oxwich. Oystermouth. Pennard. Penllyne (frag). Penmark: 2 castles (both frag). Penrice. Swansea.

## MERIONETHSHIRE

**EARLY MEN. Rough Stone Monuments.** Llanaber: two circles. Llanbedr (s). Llandanwg: *Moel Godog* (o). Llanddwywe Is y Graig: *Cors y Gedol* (r). Llandrillo: *Branas* (r, ruined), and *Moel ty Ucha* and *Tyfos* (both o). Llanegryn (s). Llanenddwyn: at Dyffryn (2 r). Llanfair: *Gwern Einion* (r), and (s). Llangelynin (s). Trawsfynydd: *Llech Idris* (s). **Habitations.** Llanaber: *Cyttiau Gwyddelod*, hut-circles. Llandanwg: *Muriau Gwyddelod*, hut-circles. Llandecwyn: *Cyttiau Gwyddelod*, hut-circles. Llanenddwyn: *Berth Ddu*, hut-circles. Llanfrothen: *Craig y Dinas*, hut-circles. **Hill-Forts and Camps.** Brithdir: *Tyddyn y Coed.* Corwen: *Caer Drewyn.* Festiniog: *Bryn y Castell* and *Caer Gwyddelwern.* *Dinas Melin y Wig.* Llanaber: *Pen Dinas*, *Bryn y Castell*, and *Egryn Fort.* Llandanwg: *Y Gaer*, *Moel Godog.* Llandderfel: *Caer Euni.* Llanddwywe Is y Graig: *Craig y Dinas.* Llanelltyd: *Moel Cynwch.* Llanfachreth: *Moel Offrum.* Llanfihangel y Pennant: *Craig Aderyn.* Llangelynin: *Castell Mawr* and *Castell y Gaer.* Llansantffraid Glyn Dyfrdwy: *Moel Fodig.*

**ROMAN. Forts.** Llanuwchllyn: *Caer Gai.* Maentwrog: *Tomen y Mur.* Pennal: *Cefn Caer* (almost obliterated).

**SAXON. Cross.** Corwen. **Inscribed Stones.** Llandanwg, Llanfôr, Towyn.

**CHURCHES. Perpendicular.** Llanddwywe Is y Graig. **Furniture.** Corwen: *Rug Chapel*. Gwyddelwern. Llanaber (A). Llandderfel. Llanegryn. Llanfair. Llanfrothen. Tallylyn. Towyn (A).

**MONASTERY.** Llanelltyd: *Cymmer Abbey*.

**HOUSES.** Barmouth: *Ty Gwyn*, Bermo. Brithdir: *Plas Gwanas* and *Gwanas Fawr*. Corwen: *Ucheldre House*. Festiniog: *Dol y Moch*, *Pengwern*, and *Hafod Ysppyty*. Llanaber: *Egryn*. Llanbedr: *Maes y Garnedd*. Llanddwywe Is y Graig: *Cors y Gedol*. Llanegryn: *Cyfanedd Fawr*. Llanfair: *Gerddi Bluog*. Llanfor: *Plas Rhiwedog* and *Llaithgwm*. Llanfrothen Park. Llangar: *Gwerclas Hall* and *Plas Ucha*. Llangelynin: *Bryn y Clydwr* and *Pant Philip*. Maentwrog: *Cynfal Fawr*. Talsarnau: *Glyn Cywarch*. Towyn: *Dolau Gwyn*.

**CASTLES.** Bala: *Tomen y Bala* (M). Corwen: *Rug* (M), *Owen Glyndwr's Mound* (M), and *Ucheldre Mound* (M). Gwyddelwern: *Tomen Gastell* (M). Llandanwg: *Harlech Castle*. Llandderfel: *Crogen* (M). Llanegryn: *Tomen Ddreiniog* (M). Llanfihangel y Pennant: *Castell y Bere*. Llangower: *Castell Gronw* (M and B). Llanuwchllyn: *Castell Carn Dochan* (ruinous). Maentwrog: *Tomen y Mur* (M). Towyn: *Y Domen Las* (M) and *Bryn y Castell* (M). Trawsfynydd: *Castell Prysor* (M and B).

## MONTGOMERYSHIRE

**EARLY MEN. Rough Stone Monuments.** Kerry: on Kerry Hill (o). Llanbrynmair: 2 circles on Newydd Fynyddog. Llangadfan: *Bryn Bras Stones* (s). Llanidloes Without: *Garreg Wen* (s). Llanrhaiadr ym Mochnant: *Rhos y Beddau* (o and s). **Habitations.** Carno: 2 hut-circles near the cairn *Twr Gwyn Bach*. Llanrhaiadr ym Mochnant: *Craig Rhiwarth* hut-circles. **Hill-Forts and Camps.** Bausley: *Castle Camp*. Castle Caereinion: *Pen y Foel*. Castlewright: *Caer Din*. Criggion: *The Breidden*. Darowen: *Fron Goch Camp*. Guilsfield Without: several camps, especially *Y Gaer Fawr*, 3 m. NNW. of Welshpool. Kerry: *Old Hall Camp*, and another at Camp Farm, Llandyssil. Leighton: *Caer Digoll (Beacon Ring) Camp*. Llandinam: *Cefn Carnedd*. Llanerfyl: 3 camps. Llanfechain: Camp in Bryngwyn Wood. Llanfihangel yng Ngwynfa: *Pen y Gorddin*. Llangadfan: *Gogerddan Camp*. Llanidloes

Without: *Pen y Gaer* and *Pen y Clun*. Llanmerewig: Camp at Giant's Bank Farm. Middletown: *Cefn Castell*. Montgomery: *The Ffridd*. Welshpool: *Crowther's Camp*.

ROMAN. Camps and Forts. Carno: *Y Gaer*. Forden: *Y Gaer*. Llanfair Caereinion: *Y Gaer*. Llangurig: *Cae Gaer*. Llanwnnog: *Caersws*.

SAXON. Inscribed Stone. Llanerfyl.

CHURCHES. Furniture. Llanbrynmair. Llangynog: *Pennant Melangell Church*. Llangynyw. Llanidloes Within. Llanllugan. Llanwnnog. Montgomery.

MONASTERY. Welshpool: *Strata Marcella Abbey*.

HOUSES. Besides the houses mentioned below there are many old half-timber houses and barns in the neighbourhood of Meifod and Bwlch y Cibau. Darowen: *Abergwidol*. Llanfihangel yng Ngwynfa: *Dolwar Hall* and *Plas Dolanog*. Llanidloes: *Old Market Hall*. Llanllugan: *Tynllan Farm*. Llanwnnog: *Park House*. Llanwrin: *Mathofarn*. Machynlleth: *Owen Glyndwr's Parliament House*. Montgomery: *Lymore Park*.

CASTLES. Berriew: Mound at the Bank Farm (M) and *The Moat* at Upper Luggy Farm (M). Bettws Cedewen: *Dolforwyn Castle*, and Mound on farm at Bettws Hall (M). Castlewright: *Bishop's Moat* (M and B). Cemmes: *Collfryn Mound* (M). Forden: at Lower Munlyn Farm (M and B). Hyssington: *The Castle Hill* (M and B). Kerry: *Tomen Madoc*, *Dolforghan Hall* (M), and *The Moat* in the Vicarage grounds (M and B). Llanbrynmair: *Tafolwern* (M and B). Llandinam: *The Moat* (M and B). Llandyssil: *Bryn Derwen* (M and B) and *Cefn Bryntalch* (M and B). Llanerfyl: *Llysin* (M and B). Llanfechain: *Domen Gastell* (M and B). Llanfyllin: *Domen yr Allt* (M). Llangurig: *Rhyd yr Onen Moat* (M and B). Llangynyw: *Mathrafal Castle* (M and B). Llanidloes Without: *Pen y Castell* (M and B). Llanrhaiaadr ym Mochnant: *Tomen Moel Frochas* (M and B). Machynlleth: *Maen Llwyd* (M). Manafon: *The Moat* (M). Montgomery Castle, and *Hen Domen* (M and B). Newtown: *The Gro Tump* (M and B), and another in Newtown Hall grounds. Pennant: *Tomen* (M). Welshpool: *The Lady's Mount*, in Powis Castle Park (M and B), and *The Domen* (M and B), and *Powis Castle*.

## PEMBROKESHIRE

**EARLY MEN. Rough Stone Monuments.** Ambleston: *Parc y Llyn* (τ). Amroth: *The Longstone* (s). Angle: *The Devil's Quoit* (τ, partly fallen). Burton: *The Hanging Stone* (τ). Carew: *Cuckoo Stones* (τ, fallen). St. Davids: *Carn Llithi* (2 τ) and Coitan Arthur (τ). Dinas (s). St. Dogwells: *Lower Broad Moor Stone* (s). St. Edrens: *Trehywel* (τ, without capstone). St. Elvies (2 τ, fallen). Fishguard South: *The Lady Stone* (s). Haroldston West (s). Haverfordwest: on Skomer Island, *Harold Stone* (s). Henry's Moat: *Dyffryn Stones* (o). Lampeter Velfrey: *Llan Cromlechs* (3 τ, fallen). Llandeloy: *Treffynnon Cromlech* (τ, partly fallen). Llanfair Nant y Gof: *Llygad y Cleddau* (s). Llanfyrnach (s). Llanhywel: *Lecha Cromlech* (τ, sunken). Llanllawer: *Parc y Marw* (s). Llanwnda: *Carn Wnda Cromlech* (τ), *Gyllwch Cromlech* (τ), and *Penrhiw Cromlech* (τ). Maenclochog (s). Maenorowen: *Penmeiddyn* (s). Manorbier: *The King's Quoit* (τ). Mathry: *Carreg Samson* (τ) and *Tre Walter Llwyd* (τ, fallen). Mynachlog Ddu: *Mountain Cromlech* (τ, fallen), *Stones of the Sons of Arthur* (s), *Wawn Llwyd* (s), and *Gors Fawr* (o). Nevern: *Pentre Ifan* (τ), *Trelyffant* (τ), and *Llech y Tribedd* (τ); also several (s). Little Newcastle: *Colston Cromlech* (τ). Newport: *Carreg Coitan* (τ) and *Cerrig y Gof* (5 c). St. Nicholas: *Ffynnon Druidian Cromlech* (τ), *Trellys Cromlech* (τ), and *Rhos y Clegyrn* (s). Puncteston (s). **Habitations.** Caldey Island: *Nanna's Cave*. St. Davids: hut-circles NW. of *Carn Llithi* and others at *St. Davids Head Camp*. Haverfordwest: on Skomer Island, hut-circles. Marloes: on Gatholm, hut-circles, possibly of Roman period. Tenby: *The Hoyle* (cave). **Hill-Forts and Camps.** Bletherston: *Posty Draw Camp*. Bosherton: *Buckspool Down Camp*. Brawdy: *Eweston Camp* and *Brawdy Castle*. Camros: *Keeston Castle*. Castlemartin: *Linney Head Camp*. St. Davids: *St. Davids Head Camp*. Haroldston West: *Black Point Rath*. Herbrandston: *The Rath*. Hundleton: *Bowett Wood Camp*. St. Ismaels: *Great Castle Head Camp*. Jordanston: *Castell Hendre Wen*. Lampeter Velfrey: *Blaen Gwyddno Camp*. Lamphey: *Freshwater East Camp*. Llandewi Velfrey: *Y Gaer* and *Castell Gwyndy*. Llanfair Nant y Gof: *Wawn Castell*. Llantoed: *Castell Felin Ganol*. Llanwnda: *Dinas Mawr* and *Gaer Fawr*. Llanychllwydog: *Castell Pengegin*. Manorbier: *Old Castle*. Marloes: *Rath*. Meline: *Castell Llwyd*, *Castell Mawr*, and *Castell Henllys*. Monington: *Castell*

*Ioan.* Moylgrove: *Castell Tre Ruffydd*. Nevern: *Castell Cynon*. New Moat: *Castell Cymmer*. Newport: *Carn Ingli*. Stackpole Elidyr: *Greenala Camp*. Warren: *Merrion Camp*. Whitechurch: *Moel Trigarn*. Wiston: *Lamborough Camp* and *Woodbarn Camp*. Museum. Tenby.

ROMAN. Enclosures. Ambleston: *Castell Fleming*. Ludchurch: *Castell Meherin* (? Roman).

SAXON. Crosses. Capel Colman (?s), Carew, St. Ismaels, Nevern, Penally. Inscribed Stones. Brawdy, Bridell, Caldey Island, Clydai, St. Davids, St. Dogmaels Rural, St. Edrens, Jeffreston, Jordanston, Llandeilo, Llandyssilio West, Llanfyrnach, Llanwnda, Llanychaer, Llanychllwydog, Llysyfran, Mathry, Morvil, Nevern, St. Nicholas, Pontfaen.

CHURCHES. Perpendicular. Nevern. Furniture. Bosherton: *St. Govan's Chapel*. Brawdy (A). Burton (A). Carew. Castle-martin (A). Hasguard (A). Haverfordwest: *St. Mary's Church*. Hodgeston. Johnston. Llawhaden (A). Loveston. Manorbier (A). Newton North (A). Rhoscrowther (A). Tenby.

MONASTERIES. Caldey Island. *St. Dogmaels Abbey* (frag). Haverfordwest: ruins of Priory (frag). Tenby: remains of Carmelite nunnery, W. of church.

HOUSES. Boulston: remains of old Manor; present house 1798. Carew: *Old Rectory*. St. Davids. Haverfordwest. Lamphey: *Bishop's Palace*. Marloes: *Philbeach*. Monkton Old Hall. Nevern: *Trewern*. Newport: Medieval Pottery Kiln in *West Street*. Nolton: *Old Rectory*. Pembroke. Penally. St. Petrocs: *Stackpole Court*. Rhoscrowther: *Eastington*. Tenby.

CASTLES. Angle. Bletherston: *Castell y Fran* (M). Brawdy: *Pointz Castle* (M). Burton: *Benton Castle*. Camros Castle (M). Carew. Castlebythe: *Castell y Bwch* (M and B). Cilgerran. Clydai: *Castell Crychyd* (M and B). Dale: south wing of castle. St. Davids: *Castell* (M and B). St. Dogwells: *Wolf's Castle* (M). Eglwyswrw: *Castell* (M and B). Haverfordwest. Llawhaden. Llanfair Nant Gwyn: *Castell Dyffryn Mawr* (M). Llanfyrnach: *Castle Mound* (M). Llantood: *Castell Pen yr Allt* (M and B). Maenorowen: *Castell* (M). Manorbier. Narberth (frag). Nevern: *Castell Nanhyfer* (M and B). New Moat (M and B). Newport. Newton North: *Castell Coch*, very

good example of moat of medieval fortified manor house. Pembroke: castle and town walls. Roch. Rudbaxton: *The Rath* (M and B) and *Rudbaxton Mount* (M). Slebech: *Picton Castle*, and also separate M. Templeton: *Sentence Castle* (M). Tenby: castle and town walls. Upton. Wiston: ruins of keep and M and B.

## RADNORSHIRE

**EARLY MEN. Rough Stone Monuments.** Bettws Diserth: on Gelli Hill (o, almost below turf). Bugeildy: in Maes y Garreg field (s). St. Harmon: *Cwm y Saeson Stones* (s). Llansantffraid Cwmduddwr: *Rhos y Gelynen* (s) and *Y Maen Serth* (s). Walton and Womaston: *The Four Stones* (s). **Hill-Forts and Camps.** Bleddfa: *Glog Camp*. Evenjobb: *Burfa Camp*. Llanbadarn Fynydd: *Castell y Blaidd*. Llanddewi Ystrad Enni: *Cefn y Gaer*. Llandrindod Rural: *Caer Du*. Llanfared: *Caer Einon*.

**ROMAN. Fort.** Llanfihangel Helygen: *Castell Collen*. **Uncertain.** Newchurch: *The Gaer* (possibly a signalling station).

**SAXON. Earthwork.** *Offa's Dyke* is to be seen at Knighton and Presteign. **Cross.** Llowes.

**CHURCHES. Furniture.** Aberedw. Bleddfa (A). Bugeildy. Cascob. Cefnlllys Rural. Diserth. Glasbury: *Maesyronnen Independent Chapel*. Llananno. Llanbadarn y Garreg (A). Llanbister. Llandegley: *Friends' Meeting House*. Llanfihangel Helygen. Old Radnor. Rhulen (A).

**MONASTERY.** Abbey Cwmhir: scanty remains of Abbey Church.

**HOUSES.** Abbey Cwmhir: *Presdeion*. Bleddfa: *Mynachdy*. Bugeildy: *Bryndraenog*. Clyro: *Court Farm*. Knighton. Llanddewi Ystrad Enni: *Hall*.

**CASTLES.** *Aberedw Castle*: ruinous; and mound near churchyard (M). Boughrood (M and B). Bugeildy: *Knucklas Castle* (frag) and *Crugyn Tump* (M and B). Cefnlllys Rural: *Cefnlllys Castle* (frag) and *Old Castle Mount* (M and B). Clyro Castle (M) and *Court Evan Gwynne* (M). Cregrina: *Forest Wood* (M and B). Knighton: *Castle Mount* and *Bryn y Castell*. Llananno: *Castell Dinbaud* (frag). Llanbedr Painscastle: *Pain's Castle* (only mound and large moats remain). Llanbister: *Penlan Mount* (M and B). Llanddewi Ystrad Enni: *Tomen Buddugre* (M and B) and *Castell Cymaron* (M and B).



Llanelwedd: *Cwrt Llechryd* (M and B). Llanfihangel Nant Melan: *Crug Eryr* (M and B) and *Tomen Castle* (M). Llansantffraid yn Elwel: *Colwyn Castle* (earthworks only remain). *New Radnor Castle*: earthworks only remain; bank surrounding town can still be traced. Pilleth: *Castell Foelallt* (M and B). Presteign: *The Warden* (M and B).

## FINAL NOTES

Not all the houses mentioned in the Appendix are open to inspection. If you are specially anxious to see a particular house, make local inquiries; and, if necessary, write for permission.

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